ROYALL AND LOYALL BLOOD

Shed by Cromwel and his Party, &c.

Viz.

- KING CHARLES *the Martyr.*
- The Earl of *Strafford.*
- The Arch-*Biſhop* of *Canterbury.*
- Duke Hamilton
- Earl of HOLLAND
- Lord Capell.
- Earl of DERBY
- Marqueſſe of MONTROSSE
- Col. Euſebius Andrews.
- Sir Henry Hide
- Doctor Hewit

To which are Added 3. other Murthers of Publique note.

Viz.

- Sir. *Thomas Overbury.*
- Sir *George Sonds* his 2. Sons. *Knight* and *Butler.*

To which is annexed a brief Chronicle of the Wars & Affairs of the 3. Kingdoms, from 1640 to 1661.

Moſt exactly Collected and Compared with the Originals, and amended of thoſe Errours which abound in the counterfeit Impreſſion of this Book.

London, Printed by *H. B.* for *W. L.* living at the Sign of the *Turks*-head in Fleet-Street, 1662.

To the Reader.

TO Introduce this Addition, which is altogether a Stranger to my præceding Book of Mr. Reynolds's Gods Revenge againſt Murther. I am Obliged to Præface ſomething concerning it: When the Abridgers of that Book in Folio, had publiſhed their Impreſſion to my great abuſe and injury; They annexed thereunto ſome of theſe late Hiſtories of our own Nation (which being

being their own Copy and under a New Title of Blood for Blood, *they pretended to justifie thereby that unwarrantable Action) as consonant and agreeable to the same Subject. Thereupon to Vindicate my self and assert my Right, in the re-Printing of my foregoing Book in this Volume ; I thought fit to subjoyn also the same* Histories, *but written more at large and more exactly, having Added also some more of the most remarkeable Murders perpetrated on other the most eminent and Loyall , both Nobility Gentry and Clergy, which you will perceive in the Title.*

It is pity, that this our Native

Country

Country should in so short a space of time contract so much blood guiltinesse, which hath made us an abhorrency to the whole World; but they who consider it was done in a tumultary violence, and shed by hands that had invaded all things in Church and State, --per scelera sceleribus est iter, *will not much wonder at this fury of men, no more then that a Monster should degenerate.*

However we have lived to see it retaliated upon the heads of some of the chief of them by a miraculous division and confusion among them, so that the Proverb may be inverted, when Usurpers fall out honest men by the Divine Ju-

ſtice com to have their own, which is the preſent happy ſtate of our gracious Soveraign and his Kingdoms.

All I ſhall adde is, that this Appendix of Royall and Loyal Blood is faithfully and diligently Collected out of the beſt obſervations, not Romanced or ſtuft, as in that ſpurious former impreſſion aforeſaid, which you will find to Your ſatisfaction in the peruſal.

Vale

December the 20. 1661.

Thine

W. L.

An *Appendix.*

Royall & Loyall Blood

Shed by Cromwell, &c.

BY the confeſſion of even his Enemies (to uſe the Language of a *Noble Pen*) thoſe Savage beaſts inhumane ſhape. He well deſerved to be enrol'd in the Eternal Regiſters of Fame: The Greateſt, Wiſeſt, moſt *Pious*, moſt Chriſtian King of the Age in which he lived. A Prince into whoſe truly Heroical breaſt divinity had infuſed a ſoul ſo pure and white, that not with ſufficient caution, reflecting upon the great depravity of the Times and corruption of mens manners; He as freely confided in the faith of others, as his own Uprightneſs and Sincerity ſuggeſted to him, they ought to have confided in his: Nor was he capable of being deceived: otherwiſe then through his own exceeding Goodneſſe. A Prince ſo juſt; He ſcarce knew wrong, but what he ſuffered: Nor is it eaſie for Malice, to find wherein he ever did an injury unleſſe in conferring upon ſome mens benefits ſo great, they underſtood nothow to uſe them as they ought. *Hanc unam, Cæſar, habeo a te injuram: effeciſti ut viverem & morerer ingratus*, was *Furnius* his Complement to *Auguſtus*, for pardoning his Father, who had been in

Arms against him; & there were who returned the same to this good King, though in the worst sense; abusing the power and trust they had received from him to his ruine, and by the destruction of the Benefactors, cancelling those obligations which were too great to be requited. So dangerous even to their Fountain are the streams of Favor and *Bounty*, where they flow upon persons in whom ambition is confederate with ingratitude. In a word, He was a Prince who lived innocently, Ruled justly, and dyed Holily; being after sundry afflictions (and those so sharp ones too, as no patience but his could have conquered them) restored to Heaven by a most glorious Martyrdome, inflicted by the barbarous hands of most accursed Traytors and Regicides. And certainly, the virtues of such a Father, cannot but be derived to his Majesty (that now is) by the right of nature, the inheritance of his Royall Blood. Besides, *The memory of a good and mercifull Prince deceased, doth always highly endear his Progeny, and redouble upon his Son who succeeds him, the fidelity & affection of his people.*"

It is very Memorable what this excellent King meditated and wrote upon his captivity at *Holdenby*. The solitude (*saith he*) and captivity to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the Worlds vanity and inconstancy. God sees it fit to deprive me of Wife, children, Army, Friends and Freedome, that I may be wholly His, who alone is *All*. I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the Black-List of irreligious and sacreligious Princes. No restraint shall ensnare my soul in sin, nor gain that of me, which may make my enemies more insolent, my friends ashamed, or my Name accursed. They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my person into their power, since my soul is still my own; nor shall they ever gain my consent against my conscience. What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy; from which reason and Religion as well as honour forbid me to recede. Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me. Neither liberty, nor life are so dear

to

to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my people. If my Captivity or Death be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

Nor are thoſe Divine words ever to be forgotten, which the Denial of his Chaplains attendance drew from *his Moſt excellent Majeſty*; *viz.* To denie me the Ghoſtly Comfort of my Chaplains, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly Comforts, yet the mercy of Religion, allows them the benefit of their Clergy; as not aiming at once to deſtroy their bodies, and to damn their ſouls. But my agony muſt not be relieved with any one good *Angel*; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine; and ſuch I would have all mine to be. They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive me of all things elſe, they are afraid I ſhould ſave my ſoul. I am ſuch a friend to Church-men, that I have hazarded my own Intereſts, chiefly upon conſcience & conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more to appear as a father, and a Patron for them and the Church. As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian King, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent then my own or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightened, and affections leſſe diſtracted, then thoſe that were encumbred with ſecular affairs.

Beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſs attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men. I muſt confeſſe, I bear with more grief and impatience for the want of my Chaplains then of any other my ſervants; and next (if not beyond

in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and children; since from these indeed more of humane and temperary affections, but from Those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected. My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his lifes and graces.

In the next place, I cannot forbear to repeat those gallant expresses of *this Good Kings* Charity and Religion in his instructions to the Prince, *viz.* I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities. I would have you alwayes propense to the same way: whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted; not onely as an Act of State-Policy and necessity, but of Christian Charity and Choice. It is all I have now left me: a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all, and I thank God, I have a heart to do it: and joy as much in this Grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former injoyments for, this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, then any prosperity can bee. Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or misapprehension of things. None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and you, then those Subjects, who sensible of their errors and our injuries, will feel in their souls most vehement motives to Repentance, and earnest desires to make some Reparations for their former defects. If You never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barberous Imprisonment and obscurity (which the Perfecting some, Mens designes requires) wherin few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me; I do require and intreat you as a Father, and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true religion established

ſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*. I tell you, I have tryed it, and after much ſearch and many diſputes have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpecial notion as reformed; keeping the middle way between Pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny and the meaneſs of Phantaſtick Anarchy. Not but that (the Draught being excellent, as to the main, both for doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good Figures, may haſtily need ſome ſweetning, or polliſhing, which might here have eaſily have been done by a ſafe and gentle hand, if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alteration, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole. The Scandall of the ſame troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or your own thoughts in this: that ſcarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active proſecutor of this Late Warr againſt the Church, the Laws and Miniſtry, either was, or is a true lover, embracer or practicer of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples. But let not counterfeit and diſorderly zeal abate your value and eſteem of true Piety. Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue and honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdome. My Prayer to God Almighty is (what ever becomes of Me, whoam, I thank God, wrapt up and fortifi'd in my own innocency, and his grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor or harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes: a Repairer, by your wiſdome, Juſtice, Piety and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience or Lives. When they have deſtroyed Me, as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; ſo, I

beſeech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me, through the Artifices aand hypocriſie of their Leaders; whoſe inward Horrour will be their firſt Tormentor, nor will they eſcape exemplary Judgements. For thoſe that loved me, I pray God they may have no miſs of me when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of your preſence and virtues. For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty towards me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King, ſo I believe you will find them truly virtuous to repay with intereſt that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me, In ſumme, what good I intended, do you perform, when God ſhall give you power. Much good I have offered, much I purpoſed to Church and State if times had been capable of it. The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the vizards will fall off apace: this mask of religion upon the face of rebellion will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities. Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your Subjects, by their miſeries, will have learned; that religion to their God & Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin and infelicity. I pray God bleſs you, and eſtabliſh your Kingdomes in righteouſneſſe, your ſoul in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people. And let my memorie ever, with my Name, live in you, as of your Father that loves you, and once a King of 3. flowriſhing Kingdomes; who God thought fit to honour not only with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Law, the honour of my Crown the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of my people, and my own conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a Thouſand Kingdomes.

Thus that *King* and *Prophet* ſpake to his Royal Son, our preſent moſt gracious Soveraign. Whereunto it will

will be very pertinent to adde ſome of his Meditations upon Death, after his cloſer impriſonment. *viz.* I have now eſpecially, cauſe to meditate, ſaith He, and prepare for my death; knowing, there are but few ſteps between the priſons and graves of Princes. I thank God, my proſperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality. And, although my death at preſent may juſtly be preſented to me, with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can but upon it (Affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon thoſe ſtings as unpoiſonous, though ſharp ſince my Redeemer hath either pul'd them out, or given me the Antidote of his death againſt them: which, as to the immaturity, Injuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn and cruelty of it, exceeded what ever I can fear. Indeed, I never did find ſo much the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts, with the thoughts of death. My enemies have left me but little of life, and only the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all thoſe Worldly comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeems, deſirable to men. But, O my ſoul, think not that life too long or tedious wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimity in a good cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths. That I muſt dye as a man, is certain; That I may dye as a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſudden and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of my Kingdomes; my Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectators; my enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over me, living, dying and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon that God hath taught me not to hope otherwiſe as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy. I confeſſe, it is not eaſie for me to contend with theſe many horrours of death, wherewith God

ſuffers

ſuffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination or in thoſe formalities, whereby my enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will, it may be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did who crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice to the cruelty of malice; that I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe piety; it will be but a neceſſarie policie to make my death appear as an act of Juſtice, dont by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no law of God, or man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me; and, who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their perjurie. It is indeed a ſad Fate for any man to have his enemies his Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate when it is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign; wherein Thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are maſt guilty of contriving the publick troubles, muſt by ſhedding my blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now moſt evidently guiltie before God and Man. Well, God's will be done. I doubt not but my innocencie will find him both my Protector and my Advocate, whom I own as King of Kings; not onely for the eminency of his power and Majeſty above them, but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them; who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the great Patrons of Law, juſtice, Order and Religion on Earth) as there be either men or devils which love confuſion. Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*; who built it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings. I am confident they will find avengers of my death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them, ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing me. I bleſs God, I pray not ſo much that this bitter cup of violent death may paſs from me, as that of his wrath may paſſe away

away from all thoſe, whoſe hands, by deſerting me are ſprinkled; or, by acting and conſenting to my death, are imbrued with my blood. My greateſt Conqueſt of death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up death in the victorie of his Reſurrection and the glorie of his Aſcention. They cannot deſire of me more then *I* am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy, *I* believe, will more then infinitely recompence, whatever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of. For the cenſures of the World, *I* know the ſharp and neceſſary Tyrannie of my deſtroyers, will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie againſt me: *I* am perſwaded, *I* am happie in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects not only pitie and pray for me but would be content even to dye with me, or for me. My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt, is made with God: before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appear, as to cauſe the ſo long diſputed by the ſword, between me and my cauſleſs enemies; where, *I* doubt not, but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacie, who, from Worldly ſucceſſe (rather like ſophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions: whoſe wiſe providence (vve knovv oft permits many events, which his revealed Word the only clear ſafe and fixed Rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves. *I* ſhall be more then Conquerour, through Chriſt enabling me, for whom *I* have hitherto ſuffered, as he is the Authour of truth, Order, and peace, for all which *I* have been forced to contend againſt errour, faction and confuſion. Nor do *I* wiſh other then the ſafe bringing of the Ship to ſhore, when they have caſt me overboard: though it be very ſtrange that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

His

His Prayer.

IF thou, Lord, wilt be with me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk through the Vally of the ſhadow of death. To contend with death, is the work of a weak and mortall man: to overcome it is the grace of Thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God. O my Savior, who knoweſt what it is to dy with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to to paſs through death to life with thee my God. Thou giveſt me leave as a man, to pray, that this Cup may paſs away from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian to adde, Not my Wil, but thine be done. Yea Lord, let our Wils be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine. Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull unto them. O deal not with them as blood-thirſty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity. And, when their hands ſhall be heavieſt and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and Eternall mercies; That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repayed in thy ever bleſſed Eternity. Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

TO come unto the laſt Act of this bleſſed King; The Houſe of Commons was now reduced to about 40. Members (a loathed piece of the *RVMP*) not only the leaſt but the worſt Part of the Houſe, and the very dregs, and many of theſe Offices of the Army. Theſe few are not aſhamed to arrogate unto themſelves a Power to govern *All*, to make and unmake *Laws*, to judge the King, to change the Kingdome to that which they called a Common-Wealth. They decree, that the ſupream power is in the people: That the power belongs unto the repreſentatives, and namely to themſelves: that their Acts without conſent of King or Lords, have the force of Laws: That to raiſe Warre and bear Arms againſt the repreſentative or Parliament is no leſs then Treaſon. That the King himſelf had taken Arms againſt the Parliament, and was guilty of all the blood of the late war, and his blood was required. Hereupon they erect a new Tribunal of Subjects, and thoſe of the meaner quality, againſt their King, and to procure ſome reverence from the Name, they ſtile it, *The High-Court of Juſtice*. To this Court they give power to arraign, hear, judge and put to death *Charles Stuart King of England*.

Into the number of Judges they aſcribe ſix Lords of the upper Houſe, the Judges of the Land newly choſen by themſelves, but the greateſt part were Commanders in the Army (who had before conſpired and determined the Kings death) & members of the Houſe of Commons, *Anti*-Royaliſts: the reſt of *London*, or near, Mechanicks, Banckrupts and debaucht, whom yet their fellows magnified with the Title of *Saints*. None of them, but by this publick ſervice hoped for impunity and ſpoils of the Kings Revenues, houſes and goods, to repair and enlarge their private fortunes.

The Lords of the upper Houſe were had in very low eſteem, and 'twas believed they would all except four or five of the faction, abſent themſelves and forſake the Houſe for fear. And the Conſpiratours thought two or three of the Lords would be enough to give ſome countenance to the buſineſs. But beyond expectation, that day when the Bill for the Kings Tryall was brought to

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the Upper House, are present seventeen Lords, who do all (without exception) not only refuse to assent, but reject the Bill as dangerous and grounded upon no Law.

Upon this, the Lords are expunged out of the *List* of the Kings Judges. And a little after, the Judges of the Land (chosen by the Factious) having been asked their Opinion privately, and answered. *That it is against the received Laws and Customes of* England, *to bring the King to Tryall*, are stricken out of that Black *List* also.

To this Court they advance a fit President, *John Bradshaw*, a man of obscure birth, of ill Fame, of a bold forehead, and petulant Tongue.

Whilst they are consulting and preparing for the Tryall, the Presbyterian Preachers of *London*, almost all, and some of the Independent too, declare, protest and petition against it. Two of the Kings Divines, Doctor *Hammond* and Doctor *Gawden*, publish their Addresses. They beseech by the Obligation of so many Oaths, fortified with declarations and solemn promises; by the laws of Nations, by the same Dictates of holy Scripture and Christian Religion, by the love of their Native Country and all things dear unto them, that they would not bring the Kings blood upon themselves and the Kingdome. The Scots by their *Delegates*, make protestation to the contrary: The States by their Embassadours intercede. The Nobles of *England*, namely *Southhampton*, *Richmond*, *Hartford*, *Lindsey* and others, do their utmost; offering their heads to the King. The people murmur, but are over-aw'd and dis-arm'd. Prince *Charles* (our present Soveraign the Second of that Name) labours to relieve his Father by all means possible. Besides the Embassadors for the States (sent upon his request) he dayly sends over from the Prince of *Orange* and Himselfe, Agents and Emissaries: the Kinsmen and relations of *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and of other the Conspirators, with full power to pray, to promise, to threaten, use all Arguments that the Tryall might be avoided, or at least for some time delayed. But all is in vain

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The Rebellious Innovators contemn all Mediation, couraging themselves with a pretence of divine providence and impulse of the holy Spirit. That notorious brazen-fac'd *Peters*, from the Pulpit perswades them, *Now is the time for Saints* (thus does the profane fellow abuse the holy Scripture) *to bind the Kings of the earth in chains, and their Nobles with links of Iron. To you belongs the Prophesie: You are the Saints: And I am assured; there are in one Army five Thousand men, as good Saints as are in Heaven it self.* Then kneeling down, and crying, and lifting up his hands, *I beg you*, saith he, *in the name of the People of* England to do Justice *upon* Charles, *and let not* Benhadad *our Enemy escape out of your hands.*

Thus are the Judges hot enough of themselves more and more enflamed.

And now is the most sacred *CHARLES*, King of Three Kingdomes (had it not been for these Traytors) most flourishing, brought before these judges, sitting on their New Tribunall, to be deprived both of his Kingdomes and of his life. He appears with a Majestick countenance, and an Heroick mind. The *Accusation* is read of great length, and with much Aggravation: the main Charge and Summe of all, *That he had raised War against the Parliament.* (Which Parliament, those very men that served under the Parliament, and were paved with the Parliament-mony, had before this day overthrown and trampled on, scarce leaving a shadow of it;) A great multitude of Spectarors, mean while, with sighs and tears deploring the Fortune of the best of Princes. The Noble Lady *Fairfax* (Daughter to the Old Famous Lord, Generall *Vere*) must here be mentioned with honour. Who upon the reading of the *Kings* Charge to the hazard of her life, cryed from her standing, with a loud voice; (relating to the accusation made in the Name of the people of England) *That's a lye. 'Tis not the peoples doing, this is not of a tenth part, but the Plot of the Traytor* Crom. The K. having heard the charge, with voice & gestur, full of *Majesty*, demands of these Judges of their own Creation. *By what authority do you judge your King*

a King by all right supreame over you? and that against the Publick Faith, given lately in the Treaty with both Houses? I say, by what lawfull authority? For I am not ignorant, there be too many lawless powers, such as of Thieves and Robbers. Let me know by what Law you can challenge this power you assume, and then I will answer: if you cannot shew your Warrant, take heed what you do; do not bring a guilt of blood upon your selves and the Kingdomes. As for me, I am resolved not to betray the power God hath committed to the King, confirmed by a long descent The President objects, and saith: He is called to Tryall by the Right of the people of *England*, by whose Election he was made King: His Majesty replies; The Kingdome is not elective, but hereditary, for these Thousand years, and by lawfull succession divolved to him: he will maintain the true rights of the people, better then they do. These Rights and power of the people are seen best in Parliaments. A Parliament hath in it a King and Lords: None of the Lords are here, neither one nor both Houses, nor any Tribunal on earth can judge the King of *England*; much less, such men as these; let them shew their authority, and he will answer and make his defence; but 'tis sin to acknowledge this unlawfull, as to reject the lawfull power. In speaking this, his Majesty was often interrupted by the President, and at length commanded away to his prison. He is brought again a second and third time; The President requires him to answer to the Charge, or he must hear the sentence of death; The King persists in calling for the authority of the Court: his life is not so dear to him as his honour, his conscience, the laws, the liberty of his people: for the preservation of all which he hath great Reasons, why he must not plead before these Judges, nor own this new form of judgement. For what power have Subjects to judge their King? or by what Law? Not by Divine: For they command Obedience to Princes. Not by humane or laws of the Land: for the laws of *England* require all tryalls to be made in the Kings Name, and give no power to the House of Commons to judge even the meanest Subject. Nor is that power derived from any extraordinary Commission

Cõmiſſion from the people, that may be imagined; for not one of ten (he might have ſaid not one of a Thouſand) evet gave his conſent. The Preſident now, as formerly interrupts his Majeſty, rebukes him, and bids him remember the condition he is in. The Court are ſatisfied in their own authority; neither can they hear any Reaſon againſt it. *A ſtrange Court* (ſaith the King) *that can hear no Reaſon.* Such you will find this Court to be, quoth the Preſident. The King is inſtant, that they would receive his Reaſons in writing; if they ſatisfie them, he will yield to their juriſdiction. Here the Preſident is impatient and commands the Guard to take his Majeſty away. *Remember, ſaith he, you will not hear your King; in vain ſhall my Subjects expect any right from you, when you ſtop your ears againſt the Reaſons of your King.*

His *Majeſtie* being the Fourth time brought before the Court, is ſharply checked by the Preſident (now in Scarlet) for Contumacie, and the Court extolled for longanimity. Submit your ſelf (ſaith the Preſident) to the Court, or ſentence will be pronounced. The King is the ſame he was, will not ſubmit, but deſires liberty to declare ſome things pertaining to the good of his people, & peace of the Kingdome, in preſence of both Houſes. This favour being denied, the Preſident, after an Invective againſt his Majeſty, commands the ſentence of death to be read; in confirmation whereof *All* the Iudges preſent, being in Number 67, (there were choſen 150.) Stand up, as it were priding themſelves in the boldeſt Act that ever the Sunne beheld.

His ſacred *Majeſty* is taken away by the Souldiers; and (as Chriſt was) mocked. And as at firſt they had cryed *Juſtice, Juſtice*, ſo now (like Iews) *Execution, Execution*: they ſpit upon his cloaths as he paſſeth by, one or two upon his face; they blow in his face the ſmoak of their Tobacco (which they knew he hated) and throw their broken pipes before his feet; they beat any that offer

offer to ſalute him, and knock down one that ſighed, *O Lord have mercy, &c.* they thruſt into his Chamber and diſturb his privacy; and when with ſome difficulty the Biſhop of *London* was permitted to wait on his *Majeſty*, they laugh and jeer at the Common-prayers; and with their ſcoffs and frivolous Queſtions endeavour to hinder his preparation for the hour of death.

But the King, with invincible conſtancy, endureth all things. When the Souldiers cryed out *Juſtice* and *Execution*, He ſaid, *Poor ſouls, they would do as much for a little mony againſt their own Commanders.* When he wiped the ſpittle off his face, He ſaid, *Chriſt hath ſuffered more then this for my ſake.*

The Officers and Souldiers, and other Phanaticks that moleſted him with their Queſtions and diſputes; he repreſſed again, with ſollid Arguments and ſilienced. Their Scoffs, and jeers and petulancy he anſwered and evaded by contempt and neglect.

And in there ſtraits of time, amoug barbarous incivilities of Soldiers. He applyed himſelf, with a compoſed Religious mind, to confeſſing of his ſins, to forgiving of his enemies, to receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament, to reading of the ſcripture, to holy Conference, and all pious duties: that he might guard himſelf with divine favour againſt the hatred of wicked men; and arm himſelf with Chriſtian courage againſt the hour of approaching death.

The

THe day before his death, he was tempted by some Soldiers with an offer of Propositions, and a promise of his Life and Crown if he would yield to them: but at the first hearing of some of them, *I had rather*, saith *He*, *dye a thousand deaths, then thus to prostitute mine Honour and the liberties of my people.*

The fatall day is come, and the King having on his Armour of Innocence and holinesse comes forth of Saint *James's* with a cheerfull look, and marches on foot among the Soldiers along the Park (as it were to hunt) bidding them march faster: and saying, *He was going to win a Heavenly Crown with less solicitude, then he had fought for his earthly Diadem.*

Having passed about an hour in *White-Hall*, with the Lord Bishop of *London* about the care of the *Prince* (*his Majesty that now is*) he proceeds to the Scaffold erected before the Gate near the banquetting House, and seeing he could not be heard by the people, kept off by Troops Horse, He turned to the Officers and the rest about him, and spake thus.

Here followeth the SPEECH of CHARLES the First KING of *England*, &c.

His Speech.

'I must say some thing to you, least my silence should be interpreted as an Argument of Guilt. God is my witnesse (to whose just Tribunall 'I am now going) that I never intended to diminish 'the due priviledges of Parliament, nor raised an Army, 'before they did as appears by Dates of Commissions on 'both sides. But I most humbly submit to the divine 'Justice, and acknowledge this unjust Sentence to be a 'just punishment from God upon Me, who had not the 'courage to deliver an innocent Man, (*Strafford*) from 'an unjust sentence. I suffered him to be oppressed, and 'am now my self oppressed. What charity I have for 'cruell enemies this honest man (the Bp. of *London*) can 'testifie. I heartily pardon them all, and beseech the 'God of mercy to fit them for his pardon by granting 'them repentance for their evill deeds. And I will 'shew you the ways from which you have strayed, to which you must return; the way of peace to your 'selves and the Kingdome. You are miserably out of 'the way, in usurping the Government upon Title of the 'sword, without any coulour of right: for your victory 'cannot give a right, where the cause of War is unjust, 'neither can successe legitimate unlawful actions. Your 'right way to peace (and to avert Gods vengeance) is 'to restore to God, to the King, to the people their severall Dues: to God, by setting up again his pure Worship and settling the Church lamentably shaken, according

, ding to Gods Word; which will be best done by ad-
'vice of a free Nationall Synod. To the King (my suc-
'cessor) by rendring to him what the known laws with
'a clear voice do require of you. To the people not by
'giving them the Throne and Scepter, and admitting
'them to govern, but by giving them the benefit of
'good Laws and a just Government. The Overthrow
'hereof; because I would by no means consent unto,
'hither am I brought to dye a Martyr for my people. In
'what Religion I dye, that honest man (the Bishop of
'London) knows, and all the World knows, my life
'and profession have declared me a Christian, according
'to the estabⁱsht doctrine and diˢcipline of the Church
'of *England*. In this I was bred up by my Father of blessed
'memory, in this I have lived, and in this I dye. My
'God is just, my God is mercifull, through whose infi-
'nite goodnesse I trust I shall now change a corrupti-
'ble Crown for an incorruptible; and have a joyfull
'passage from this World of Troubles into that King-
'dome where is nothing but rest and peace.

Then falling to his prayers, he laid himself to the block and gave his royal neck to the stroke of the disguised Executioner, who cut off his head at one strong blow. Thus dyed King Charles: Thus dyed the *Ho*nour of Brittany.

A Prince, certainly, to be reckoned *Vide Charles* among the best Princes of all ages; *Batium.* of great understanding and judgement, of greater virtue and piety; in the opinion of all men, even of his worst enemies, *worthy of a Kingdom, if he had not raigned.* He was *ever the same*, by the confession of all men; and (which is truely royal) was able to go on his virtuous course, and carry one uniform countenance in his different fortunes. He pleased some even against their will, pacified many gained love among his enemies; and turned their reproaches into praises. Such excellent wisdom, such heroical virtues was he endowed with, that he did shine forth through the cloud of calumniation with the greater splendor. His enemies feigned him weak of judgement, they found

him equal if not not superiour not onely to the prudent politicians, but profound divin . They disgraced him for timidity, and facility and falsity, and inconstancy; upon tryal he was observed to be couragious in battaile, constant to his purpose, not terrified with threats, reproaches, dangers; in prison and death, unshaken and invincible. They called him papist; they saw him a stout defender of the reformed Apostolick Religion, and vindicating the honour of it, not with his ink onely, but with his blood. They called him cruel and yet presumed upon his clemency; till that fortune had carried them so far, that they chose rather to be cruel to him then accept a pardon from him. Truly, if any thing may be objected to so incomparable a Prince, 'tis too much lenity toward the cruell and civility to the churlish; an exactness in point of honesty, scarce allowed Kings, and a modest diffidence in himself, that made him prefer other mens Counsels before better of his own; as if he had given too much credit to his enemies ill report and disesteem.

To end, he was *A great exampler in his life, a greater in his death.*

Collected by *E. B. Ascent day. 1661. May. 23. &c.*

Additions

Additions out of Mr Fullers *Church-History.* XI *B.* p. 237

AFter his death, on Wednesday sennight, the Kings corps being embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered to the care of his two Servants, to be buried at *Windsor*. They brought the Corps to *Windsor* that night. *Feb.* 5 and digged a Grave for it in St. *Georges* Chappell; on the south-side the Communion-Table.

But the next day, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquesse of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey* (others, though sent to, denying the service) came to Windsor, and brought with them two Votes passed that morning in Parliament. Wherein the ordering of the Kings Buriall, for the form and manner thereof, was wholly committed to the Duke of Richmond, provided, that the expence thereof exceeded not 500*l.*

The Governour would not permit the Corps to be buried according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

THE NAMES and severall Punishments of the KINGS pretended Judges and their Officers are as followeth.

Dead before the KINGS most happy Returu

*Oliver Cromwell
Henry Ireton.
Iohn Bradshaw
*Sir John Danvers.
*Sir John Bourchier
*Thomas Maleverer
*John Blakiston
Thomas Pride
Isaac Ewer
John Alured
Colonell Richard Dean
* Humphery Edwards
*William Purefoy
*Sir William Constable
* Anthony Stapeley.
* Sir Gregory Norton
*Thomas Wogan.
* John Venn
* Francis Allen
* Peregrin Pelham
Thomas Andrews
*Thomas Horton
* John Fry
Thomas Hammond
*Tho. Lord Gray of Groby
* John Moor

Fled since.

COlonell *Whaley*
Colonell *Okey*
* Sir *Michael Livesy*
Colonell *Goffe*
* *Valentine Walton*
* *William Sey*
* *Daniel Blagrave*
* Lieut. Gen. *Ludlow*
* *William Cawley*
Col. *Berkstead*
* *Joh. Lisle*
Colonell *Hewson*
* *Cornelius Holland*
* *Miles Corbet*
* *Thomas Challoner*
* *John Dixwell*
* *Nicholas Love.*

Executed according to LAW

THomas *Harrison*
* *John Carew.*
John Cook the pretended Solliciter General.
Hugh Peters
* *Thomas Scot*
* *Gregory Clement.*
Adrian Scroop,
* *Iohn Jones*
Francis Hacker
Daniel Axtell.

Attainted and condemned and now in the Tower, where they are to remain till the pleasure of the Parliament.

* HEnry *Marten*
* *Augustt. Garland*
* *George Fleetwood.*
* *James Temple*
Col. *Owen Rowe.*
Col. *Robert Titchburn*
* *Gilbert Millington*
Coll. *Robert Lilburn.*
* *Peter Temple*
* *Vincent Potter*
* *Iohn Downes*
* *Thomas Waite*
* *Isaac Pennington*
* *Henry Smith*
* *Edmond Harvey*
Sir *Harvesse Waller.*
* *William Heveningham*

These

These persons for sitting in the High Court, *viz.* degradation of Honour & Title, to be drawn on a Sledge from the Tower of *London*, on the 27 of *Jan.* next, to Tyburn, with *Ropes* about their necks, and so back again to perpetual imprisonment, ann forfeit their Estates. *Vide* Satute.

* *Will.* Lord *Munson.*
* Sr. *H. Maldmay*
* Sir *Iames Harrington*
Robert Wallop
Iohn Phelps

Dead.

Mr. Ask
Dr. *Dorislaus* } Counsel

* *Iames Challenor*
* *Thomas Challener*

Officers Fled

Edw. Dendy Serjeant at Law

Andrew Broughton Clerk of the pretended High Court of Justice

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The KINGS suppoied Executioner.

William Hewlet Tryed and Condemned, but his Executi- on respited

---

Dead in the Tower since their attainder

* *Simon Meyne*
* *Vincent Potter*

Pardoned
* *Francis Lassels*
* *Iohn Hutchinson.*
* Colonell *Ingolsby*

AN

William Arch-B: of Canterbury
Prymat of all England. etc.

The right Reverend

William Laud, *Arch-Biſhop* OF CANTERBURY.

By *the zealotry and fury of the Reformiſts*, *is warned to his Grace*

By an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons (an unuſual & illegall way) He is beheaded at Tower-Hill, Jan. *the* 10. 1644.

THe ſtrongeſt and firmeſt Reſolutions, that fixed ſober men can make, compared with the baſe opinion of a preciſe *Non-Conformiſt* in Religion is but like a ſhaken reed: ſo unmoveable are they from any thing their fancy hath once ſuggeſted to be divine direction. This was moſt apparent in their violent perſecution of Epiſcopacy, which their Heads and Chiefs gave out to be Antichriſtian, and conſequently to be endeavored to be wholly extirpated as Enemies to the people of God. Upon this Edge the Phanatick Vulgar was ſet againſt the moſt ſacred Function and Hierarchy.

The Chief o / whom this Right Reverend and moſt Chriſtian Prelate being at the clamorous inſtance of the rude multitude, crying out, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*; by a Vote of the Lords and Commons, with 11 others of his Order, committed firſt to the *Black Rod*, then to the *Tower*; endured a very tedious Impriſonment: the Crime in general objected to them was their Proteſtation entered in the Houſe of Lords, that nothing donethere, during their excluſion ſhould be valid. Afterward the ſpleen of the Reformiſts, ſingled out the *Arch-Biſhop* to be a Sacrifice to their *Diana* of Presbytery then riſing and getting foot in *England*. His particular charge, which he defended moſt learnedly and gallantly at the Barre of the Houſe of Lords, conſiſted meerly of the eye-ſores ſtrict profeſſion of that party. They may be ſummed up in theſe Heads.

1. For placing of Images in churches, and particularly his own Chappell at *Lambeth*.

2 For glazing of Church-windows with Painted Imagery.

3. For erecting of Crucifixed Altars, and railing them in.

4 For bowing at the Name of Jeſus.

5. For turning out and ſilencing godly Reformed Miniſters, and putting others (*ſcandalous*) in their room.

For preferring men Popiſhly affected to Biſhopricks and attendance upon the King and the Royall Family.

6. For holding correſpondence with the *Popes* Nuntio and Ieſuites, and procuring the ſaid Nuntio leave to reſide here.

7 For promoting of Arminianiſme and preferring *Arminians*.

8. For diſowning and diſcountenancing the Reformed Churches abroad.

9 For endeavouring a Reconciliation betwixt the Churches of *England* and *Rome*.

10 For doing ill Offices between the King and his people, and for his endeavouring to ſubvert Parliaments the Laws and Liberties of *England*.

All

All that concerned the Ceremonies of Religion he justified by the *English* Canon; the reſt he plainly refuted but ſuch was the malice of his Enemies, that they were reſolved to have his life which they compaſſed; his Sentence being that he ſhould be hanged, drawn and quartered: the Lord Mayor difficultly obtaining that he ſhould have the honor to be beheaded. He dyed cheerfully, with a colour as red in his cheeks as at any time in his life, making it moſt evident, that he was a moſt firm Proteſtant, of which Religion he lived and dyed a main Pillar.

His SPEECH *at his death was as followeth:*

The

The Speech or Sermon of the moſt Reverend Father in God, *William* Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, Immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, *January*, 10. 1644.

Upon Heb. 12. 1, 2.

Let us run with patience that race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our faith who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the Right Hand of the Throne of God.

Good People!

YOu'l pardon my old Memory, and upon ſo ſad occaſions as *I* am come to this place, to make uſe of my papers. I dare not truſt my ſelf otherwiſe.

Good People!

'Tis a very uncomfortable time to preach in, and yet I ſhall begin with a Text of Scripture, in the twelfth of the *Hebrews*.

Let us run with patience that race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus the Author and finiſher of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſſe, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the Right hand of the Throne of God.

* *Ar. At.* 72. I *Have* been long in my race, * and how I have looked unto Jeſus the Authour and finiſher of my faith, is beſt known to him. I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Croſſe a death of ſhame, but the ſhame muſt be deſpiſed, or there is no coming to the Right hand of God: Jeſus deſpiſed the ſhame for me, and God forbid but I ſhould deſpiſe the ſhame for him. I am going apace, as you ſee, towards the Red-Sea, and my feet are upon the very brinks of it; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me to the land of *Promiſe*; for that was the way by which of old he led his people: But before they came to the Sea, he inſtituted a *Paſſeover* for them; a *Lamb* it was, but it was to be eaten with very ſoure *Herbs*, as in the twelfth of *Exodus*.

I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the ſoure *Herbs* as well as the Lamb, and I ſhall remember that it is the Lords Paſſeover; I ſhall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hands that gathered them, but look up only to him who inſtituted the one, and governeth the other: For men can have no more power over me, then that which is given them from above; I am not in love with this paſſage through the *Red* Sea; for I have the weakneſſe and infirmity of fleſh and blood in me, and I have prayed as my Saviour taught me and exampled me *ut tranſiret calix iſte*,

That this cup of red-Wine might paſſe away from me; but ſince it is not that my will may; his will done: and I moſt willingly drink of this cup as deep as he pleaſes, and enter into this Sea, and paſſe through it, in the way that he will be pleaſed to lead me.

And yet (*Good People*) it would be remembred, That when the Servants of God, old *Iſrael*, were in this boiſterous Sea, and *Aaron* with them, the Egyptians which perſecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that Sea, were drowned in the ſame waters, while they were in purſuit of them; I know my God whom I ſerve, is as able to deliver me from this Sea of blood, as

he

he was to deliver the three children from the furnace, as *Dan.* 3.

And I most humbly thank my Saviour for it, my Resolution is now, as theirs was then; their Resolution was, They would not worship the Image the KING had set up: nor shall I the Imaginations which the PEOPLE are setting up, nor will I forsake the Temple, and the truth of GOD, to follow the Bleating of *Jeroboams* Calves in *Dan* and in *Bethel*.

And I pray God blesse all this People, and open their eyes, that they may see the right way, for if it fall out that the blind lead the blind, doubtlesse they will both, into the ditch: For my self, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many wayes, by thought, word and deed, and therefore I cannot doubt but that GOD hath mercy in store for me a poor penitent as well as for other sinners, I have upon this sad occasion, ransack'd every corner of my heart, and yet I thank God, I have not found any of my sins that are there, any sins now deserving death by any known Law of this kingdom; and yet thereby I charge nothing upon my Judges (I humbly beseech you I may rightly be understood, I charge nothing in the least degree upon my Judges) for they are to proceed by proof, by valuable Witnesses, and in that way I or any Innocent in the world may justly be condemned; And I thank God though the weight of the Sentence lie very heavy upon me, yet I am as quiet within, as (I thank Christ for it) I ever was in my self; and though I am not the first *Archbishop*, but the first man that ever dyed by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means: for * *Elfegus* was hurried away and lost his head by the *Danes*. And * *Simon Sudbury* in the fury of *Wat Tyler* and his fellows: And long before these Saint *John Baptist* had his head danced off by a lewd Woman, and Saint *Cyprian* Archbishop of *Carthage*, submitted his head to a persecuting sword

* *Hollinsh.* 170. *K. Egelred.* *April* 19. 1112

* *Baker* 150. *K. Richard the* 2d. *Anno* 1384.

ſword. *Many* Examples great and good, for they teach me patience, and I hope my cauſe in Heaven will look of another dye then the colour that is put upon it here upon Earth; and ſome comfort it is to me, not onely that I go the way of theſe great men in their ſeveral Generations, but alſo that my charge (if *I* may not be partiall) looks ſomewhat like that againſt Saint *Paul* in the 25. of the *Acts*, for he was accuſed for the Law and the Temple that is the Law and Religion; and like that of Saint *Stephen* in the Sixth of the *Acts*, for breaking the Ordinances that *Moſes* gave us, which Ordinances were Law and Religion; but you'l ſay, do I then compare my ſelf with the interity of Saint *Paul* and Saint *Stephen*? No, God forbid, far be it from me; I only raiſe a comfort to my ſelfe, that the great Saints and ſervants of God were thus laid up in their ſeverall times; and it is very memorable that Saint *Paul*, who was one of them, and a great one, that helped on the accuſation againſt Saint *Stephen*, fell afterwards into the ſelfe-ſame accuſation himſelf, yet both of them great Saints and Servants of God. *I* but perhaps a great clamour there is that *I* would have brought in Popery, I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by; in the mean time, you know what the *Phariſees* ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, in the Eleventh of John, *If we let him alone all men will beleve him*, Et venient Romani, *and the Romans will come and take away both our place and Nation.* Here was a cauſleſſe cry againſt Chriſt, that *Romans* would come; and ſee how juſt the judgement of God was, they crucified Chriſt for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould come; his death was that that brought in the Romans upon them; God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared; And I pray God this clamour of *venient Romani*, (of which I have given to my knowledge no juſt cauſe) help not to bring him; for the Pope never had ſuch an harveſt in *England* ſince the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and diviſions that are among us; in the mean time, By *honour and diſho-*

nour,

now, by good report and evill report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I passing out of this World. Some particulars also I think not amiss to speak of.

First, This I shall be bold to speak of the King, our Gracious Soveraign; he hath been much traduced by some for labouring to bring in Poperie; but upon my Conscience (of which I am now going to give God a present account) I know him to be as free from this charge I think as any man living, and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant according to the Religion by Law established, as any man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his life freely for it; and I think I do or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds upon which that affection is built, as fully as any man in *England*.

The second particular is concerning this great and populous City, which God bless: Here hath been of late a fashion taken up to gather hands, and then go to the Honourable and great Court of the Kingdome, the Parliament, and clamour for Justice, as if that great and wise Court (before whom the causes come, which are unknown to the many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their call and appointment; away which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck up innocent blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon this City also, which God forbid: and this hath been lately practised against my selfe: God forgive the setters of this, with all my heart I beg it; but many well meaning people are caught by it: In Saint *Stephens* case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him; *Acts 6.* and *Herod* went just the self same way for when he had killed Saint *James*, he would not venture upon Saint *Peter* too, till he saw how the people took it, and were pleased with it, in the Twelfth of the *Acts*. But take heed of having your hands full of blood, in the first of *Isaiah*: for there is a time best known to himself, when God among other sins makes inquisition for blood; and when in-

inquiſition is on foot, the Pſalmiſts tells us, *Pſalme 9.* that God remembers; that is not all, *That God remembers and forgets not* (ſaith the Prophet) *the complaint of the poor*; and he tells you what poor they are, in the 9. verſe, the poor whoſe blood is ſhed by ſuch kind of means: Take heed of this; *It is a fearfull thing* (at any time) *to fall into the hands of the living God*, in the 12. of the Hebrews: But it is fearfull indeed, and then eſpecially when he is making his inquiſition for blood; and therefore, with my Prayers to avert the Propheſie from the City, let me deſire that this City would remember the Propheſie that is expreſſed, *Ieremiah* 29. 15.

The third particular is this poor Church of *England*, that hath flouriſhed and been a Shelter to other neighbouring Churches, when ſtorms have driven upon them; but alas, now it is in a ſtorm it ſelf, and God knows whether or how it ſhall get out: and which is worſe then a ſtorm from without, it is become like an Oak cleft to ſhivers with Wedges made out of it's own body, and that in every cleft Prophaneneſſe and irreligion is creeping in apace: while as *Proſper* ſaith, men that introduce prophaneneſſe are cloaked with a name of imaginary Religion: For we have in a manner almoſt loſt the ſubſtance, and dwell much, nay too much a great deal in opinion; and that Church which all the Jeſuites machinations in theſe parts of Chriſtendome could not ruine, is now fallen into a great deal of danger by her own.

* *Lib. 2. de Vit. contemp. cap. 2.*

The laſt particular (for I am not willing to be tedious, I ſhall haſten to go out of this miſerable world) is my ſelf, and I beſeech you, as many as be here preſent within hearing, obſerve me; I was born and baptized in the boſome of the Church of *England*, as it ſtands yet eſtabliſhed by Law; in that profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion here eſtabliſhed I come now to dye; this is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matter of Religion, and therefore I deſire it may be remembred,

bred, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in *England*, and in that I come now to dye: What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the externall service of God, according to the Doctrine and discipline of this Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt: Now at last I am accused of high Treason in Parliament, a crime which my soul ever abhorred: This Treason was charged upon me to consist of two parts, An endeavour to subvert the Law of the Realm, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true Protestant Religion established by those Laws. Besides my answers which I gave to the several Charges, I protested my innocency in both Houses; it was said that prisoners protestations at the Bar must be taken *de ipso*; I can bring no witness of my heart, and the intentions thereof, therefore must I come to my protestation, not at the Bar, but to my protestation at this hour and instant of my death, in which (as I said before) I hope all men will be such charitable Christians as not to think I would die and dissemble my Religion, I do therefore here with that caution that I delivered before, without all prejudice in the world to my Judges, that are to proceed *secundum allegata & probata*, and so to be understood, I dye in the presence of the Almighty God and all his holy and blessed Angels, and I take it now on my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of the Laws of the Realm, nor ever any change of the Protestant Religion into Popish Superstition; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine, for my innocency in these and from all manner of Treasons whatsoever.

I have been accused likewise as an enemy to Parliaments, no, God forbid, I understood them, and the benefits that come by them, a great deal too well to be so, but I indeed dislike some misgovernments (as I conceived) of some few did one or two Parlements: and I did conceive humbly that I might have reason for it, for *corruptio optimi est pessima*; There is no corruption in the World so bad as that which is of the best thing in it self, for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it

is

is corrupted; and this being the higheſt and greateſt Court, over which no other can have Jurisdiction in the Kingdome, if by any way a miſ-government (which God forbid) ſhould fall upon it, the Subjects of this Kingdome are left without all manner of Remedy, and therefore God preſerve them and bleſſe them, and direct them, that there may be no miſ-conceit, much leſſe miſ-government amongſt them. I will not inlarge my ſelf any further; I have done, I forgive all the World, all and every of thoſe bitter enemies, or others whoſoever they have been, which have any ways proſecuted me in this kind, and I humbly deſire to be forgiven firſt of God, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or no, if he do but conceive that I have; Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveneſſe of him, and ſo I heartily deſire you to join with me in prayer.

Here followeth the *Biſhop of Canterburies* Firſt Prayer on the Scaffold.

The

The Biſhop of *Canterburies* firſt Prayer on the Scaffold.

O *Eternal God, and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulneſſe of all thy mercies look upon me, but not till thou haſt nailed my ſins to the Croſs of Chriſt: look upon me, but not till thou haſt bathed me in the blood of Chriſt, not till I have hid my ſelf in the wounds of Chriſt, that ſo the puniſhment that is due to my ſins, may paſs away and go over me; and ſince thou art pleaſed to try me to the uttermoſt I humbly beſeech thee give me now in this great inſtance full of patience, proportionable comfort, a heart ready to dye for thine honour, the Kings happineſſe, &*

Churches

Churches preſervation; and my zeal to theſe (far from arrogancy be it ſpoken) is all the ſin, (humane frailty excepted, and all incidents thereunto) which is yet known of me in this particular of Treaſon; but otherwiſe my ſins are many and great; Lord pardon them all, and thoſe eſpecially whatſoever they be which have drawn down this preſent Judgement upon me; and when thou haſt given me ſtrength to bear it, then do with me as ſeemeth beſt in thy own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what viſage ſoever it ſhall appear to me, and that there may be a ſtop of this iſſue of blood in this more then miſerable Kingdome. I ſhall deſire that I may pray for the People too, as well as for my ſelf. O Lord, I beſeech thee, give grace of Repentance to all people that have a thirſt for blood; but if they will not repent, then ſcatter their devices ſo, and ſuch as are or ſhall be contrary to the glory of thy great Name, the truth and ſincerity of Religion, the eſtabliſhment of the King and his

Poſterity

Posterity after him in their just Rights and Priviledges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their ancient and just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace and patrimony. and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their antient Laws and in their native Liberties, and when thou hast done all this in meer mercy for them, O Lord fill their hearts with thankefulnesse, and with religious dutifull obedience to thee and thy Commandements all their days. So Amen Lord Jesus: and I beseech thee receive my soul to mercy. Our Father which art in Heaven, Hollowed be thy Name. Thy Kindome come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our dayly bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from all evill. Amen,

When

When he had finiſhed his Prayer, he gave his Paper to Doctor *Stern*, ſaying, Doctor, I give you this, that you may ſhew it to your Fellow Chaplains, that they may ſee how I am gone out of the World, and Gods bleſſing and his mercy be upon them.

Then turning to *Maſter Hind*, he ſaid, Friend, I beſeech you hear me, I cannot ſay I have ſpoken every word as it in my paper, but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well as I could: but I beſeech you let me have no wrong done me.

Hind. Sir, you ſhall not. If I do any wrong let it fall on my own head. I pray God have mercy on your ſoul.

Cant. I thank you, I did not ſpeak with any jealouſie as if you would do ſo, but I ſpake it onely as a poor man, going out of the World, it is not poſſible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phraſe may do mee wrong.

I did thiuk here would have been an empty Scaffold, that I might have had room to dye: I beſeech you let me have an end of this miſery, for I have endured it long.

When room was made, he ſpake thus: I will pull off my Doublet, and Gods will be done, I am willing to go out of the world, none can be more willing to ſend me out, then I am willing to be gone.

Sir *John Clotbworthy*, What ſpeciall Text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure:

Cant. *Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto.*

Sir *John Clotbworthy*. That is a good deſire, but there muſt be a foundation for that deſire as aſſurance.

Cant. No man can expreſſe it, it is to be found within.

Sir *John Clotbworthy*. It is founded upon a word though and that word would be known.

Cant. The word is the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, and him alone,

Then turning to the Executioner he gave him mony saying. Here honeſt friend, God forgive thee, and do thy Office upon me in mercy.

The Executioner deſired him to give him a ſign when he ſhould ſtrike, he anſwvered, Yes, I vvill, but let me fit my ſelf firſt.

Then kneeling dovvn on his knees he prayed thus

The Arch-*Biſhop of Canterburies* Laſt Prayer on the SCAFFOLD.

Lord, I am comming as faſt as I can, I know I muſt paſs paſſe through the ſhadow of death, before I can come to ſee thee, but it is but umbra mortis, *a meer ſhadow of death, a little darkneſſe upon nature: but thou by thy merits and paſſion haſt broke through the jaws of death: ſo Lord receive my ſoul, and have mercy upon me, and bleſſe this Kingdome with peace and with plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blood amongſt them, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake if it be his will.*

And when he ſaid *Lord receive my ſoul,* (which was his ſign) the Executioner did his Office.

The

THe Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, is maligned by a party in Parliament. A Charge is exhibited against him by the *House* of Commons: he is eagerly prosecuted by *Pym* and *Oliver St. Johns*, the multitudes by their Artifices is incensed against him, by whose clamors the House of Lords are forced to assent to his death though no Law or Precedent for it. He is beheaded on Tower-hill, *London*, May 12. 1641.

Greatnesse is that mark at which the arrows of envy and malice are perpetually levelled, nor can the uprightnesse, sincerity or vertue of any man, elevated above the pitch of others, secure him either from the open or close assaults of enemies. Men consider not what good great men do in such eximous places but what harm they may do by the power and authority their grandeur hath vested them with; such suspition especially of persons of known abilities, and who by their preferment may be thought byassed from their former integrity, soon corrupts into ill will and rancour, and that is usually terminated in the destruction of great Ones, as will appear in this ensuing History.

The Earl of *Strafford* was a Gentleman descended of a Right Noble Family in York-shire, which his personal vertues had very much illustrated, which brought him forth into the eyes and affections of his Country, neither were his intellectuall abilities any way inferiour to his other eminent qualities, so that in all choices of Parliament men he was one of the chief for the afore said County. In Parliament he was soon taken notice of for his prudence and excellency of learning, which being directed solely to the service of his Country deservedly purchased him the honourable Name of a Patriot.

This Character of him brought him soon to the Kings observation and favour, who well liking and judging his abilities and sufficiences, fitter for a Minister of State then a private Gentleman, advanced him from the degree of Knight-hood (the honour of his Ancestors) to a

Barony

Barony and Earldome, and ſoon after imployed him as Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Here he performed that great truſt with very great ſatisfaction to the King and honour to himſelf: having augmented and eſtabliſhed the Kings Revenue as well as his authority, though in this his meritorious ſervice to the Crown the project of his ruine was firſt laid.

For a Parliament being called in *England*, in 1640. this noble Earl was Articled againſt by the Houſe of Commons for ſeverall miſdemeanours in his Goverment in *Ireland* and for endeavouring the ſubverſion of the laws of that Kingdome, by ſeveral arbitrary, illegall impoſitions and proceedings: that he had alſo endeavoured the like in the Kingdome of *England*, that he was an Enemy to and had been an ill inſtrument betwixt the King and his People: that he had given the King counſell to diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and to levy mony upon the ſubject by his Prerogative, that he had deſigned to bring up the Army then in the North to awe the Parliament, and that he had an Army on foot in *Ireland* to that purpoſe, that his deſign was to enſlave the free people of *England*, and to introduce Popery, *cum multis aliis*, which being ſingularly and particularly charged againſt him as Treaſon, could not with all the aggravation and in the letter of the Law, though every punctilio was inſiſted on be made appear ſuch: ſo the ſubtle malice of his adverſaries, after he had made a moſt learned & full defence to every thing charged againſt him (even by the confeſſion of ſome of his implacable enemies) found out a new expedient to take away his life, by a device, called accumulative Treaſon, theſe particular offences in which they judged him culpable being not Treaſon in themſelvs, were made to be ſo and amount to ſo much in the Groſſe, in the whole taken together.

Never

Nevertheleſſe many of both Houſes, were not ſatiſfied upon this ground to proceed againſt his life, but the importunity of the rabble (brought down by their party in the Houſe of Commons) threatning and poſting up the *Straffordians*, and demanding Juſtice, Iuſtice, prevailed in the concluſion againſt this right worthy and Honorable Earl; the King at laſt being being forced to ſign the Bill for his Execution, in which the poor Earl himſelf himſelf became a Soliciter to his Majeſty though the King bore regret of that action with him to his grave having left this *Honorable* monument of him in his *Eikon Baſilike* looked upon my *Lord* of Straffo rd as a Gentleman; I whoſe abilities might rather make a Prince afraid. then aſhamed, &c.

After the aforeſaid Bill was aſſigned, the Parliament deferred not the Execution for five dayes after he was brought to *Tower-hill* and there beheaded.

Two of his Speechees, one the laſt at *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the other the laſt of all at his death are as followeth.

The Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*'s two Speeches, the one at his Tryal in *Westminster-Hall*, the other on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on *Tower-hill*, *May* 12. 1641.

MY Lords! There yet remains another Treason that I should be guilty of; the endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land; that they should now be Treason together, that is not Treason in any one part of Treason accumulative, that so when all will not do, it is woven up with others, it should seem very strange.

Under favour my Lords, I do not conceive t h there is either Statute Law or common Law, that doth declare the endeavouring to subvert the fundamentall Laws to be high Treason.

Fo neither Statute Law, nor Common Law written, that ever I could hear of, declareth it so.

And yet I have been diligent to enquire, (as I believe you think it doth concern me to do;)

It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be shewn.

There is a rule which I have learned from Sir *Edward Cook Dean in apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio*: (Jesu) where hath this fire lain all this while, so many hundred

of

of years, without any ſmoak to diſcover it, till it thus burſt out to conſume me and my children: extreme hard in my opinion, that puniſhment ſhould precede promulgation of law, puniſhment by a Law ſubſequent to the Acts done.

Take it into your conſiderations: for it is now better to be under no Law at all, but the will of men, then to conform our ſelves under the Protection of a law as we think and then be puniſhed for a crime that doth precede the Law: what man can be ſafe, if that be once admitted?

My Lords, it is hard in another reſpect, that there ſhould be no token ſet upon this offence, by which we ſhould know it, no admonition, by which we ſhould be aware of it.

If a man paſſe down the Thames in a Boat, and it be ſplit upon an Anchor; and no buoy be ſet as a token that there is an Anchour there, that party that owns the Anchour, by the Maritine laws ſhall give ſatisfaction for the damage done: but if it were marked out, I muſt come upon my own perill.

Now where is a mark upon this crime? Where is the token of this high treaſon?

If it be under water, and not above water, no humane providence can avail nor prevent my deſtruction.

Lay aſide all humane wiſdome, and let us reſt upon divine Revelation, if you will condemn before you forewarn the danger.

Oh my Lords! may your Lordſhips be pleaſed to give that regard unto the Peerage of *England*, as never to ſuffer our ſelves to be put on theſe nice points upon ſuch contractive interpretations; and theſe are where Laws are not clear, or knovvn. If there muſt be a tryall of vvits I do humbly beſeech you, the ſubject and matter may be ſomevvhat elſe than the lives and honors of Peers

My Lords, we find that the primitive time in the progreſſion of the plain Doctrine of the Apoſtles, they brought the Books of curious Arts, and burned them, And ſo likewiſe, as I do conceive, it will be wiſdome and providence in your Lordſhips, for your Poſterity and the whole Kingdome, to caſt from you into the fire theſe bloody and myſterious volumes of Conſtructive and Arbitrary Treaſon: and to break your ſelves to the plain Letters of the Law and Statute, that telleth us where the crime is, and by telling what is and what is not, ſhews us how to avoid it. And let us not be ambitious to be more wiſe and learned in the killing Arts, than our forefathers were.

It is now two hundred and forty yeare ſince any man was touched for this alledged crime (to this height) before my ſelf; we have lived happily to our ſelves at home and we have lived gloriouſly to the world abroad.

Let us reſt contented with that our Father left us, and not awaken thoſe ſleepy Lyons to our own deſtructions: by raking up a few muſty Records that have lien ſo many Ages by the walls, quite forgotten and neglected.

May your Lordſhips be nobly pleaſed, to adde this to thoſe other miſ-fortunes befallen me for my ſins, not for my Treaſons, that a preſident ſhould be derived from me as a diſadvantage (as this will be in the conſequent to the whole Kingdome) I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider it and let not my Particular Cauſe be looked upon as you do: though you wound me in my intereſt in the Common-Wealth, and therefore thoſe Gentlemen ſay, that they ſpeak for the Common-Wealth, yet in this particular I indeed ſpeak for it, and the inconveniences and miſchiefs that will heavily fall upon us: for as it is in the firſt of *Henry* the fourth, no man will after know what to do or what to ſay, for fear,

Do

Do not put my Lords ſo great difficulties upon the Miniſters of State, that men of wiſdome, honour and vertue, may not with cheerfulneſſe and ſafety be imployed for the publick, if you weigh them and meaſure them by grains and ſcruples, the publick affairs of the Kingdome will be laid waſte, and no man will meddle with them that hath honours, iſſues, or any fortune to loſe.

My Lords, I have now troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not for the intereſt of thoſe dear Pledges a Saint in Heaven left me: I ſhould beſeech my Lords (there he ſtopped.)

What I forfeit for my ſelf it is nothing, but that my indiſcretion ſhould forfeit for my child, it even woundeth me deep to my very ſoul.

You will pardon my infirmity, ſomething I ſhould have ſaid, but I am not able, (and ſighed) therefore let it paſſe.

And now my Lords, I have been by the Bleſſing of Almighty God, taught that the affections of this life preſent are not to be compared to the Eternal weights of that glory that ſhall be revealed to us hereafter.

And ſo my Lords, even ſo with tranquility of mind I do ſubmit my ſelf freely and clearly to your Lordſhips judgements, and whether that Righteous judgement ſhal be to life or death.

Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur.

The

The Earl of Straffords *Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on* Tower-hill, May *the* 12. 1649.

My L. Primate of Ireland.

IT is my very great comfort that I have your Lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known to you theſe many years and I do thank God and your Lordſhip for it that you are here; I ſhould be very glad to obtain ſo much ſilence as to be heard a few words, but I doubt I ſhall not, the noiſe is ſo great. My Lords; I am come hither by the good wil and pleaſure of Almighty God, to pay that laſt debt I ow to ſin, which is death and by the bleſſing of that God, to riſe again through the merits of *Ieſus Chriſt* to righteouſneſſe and life eternall, *Here* he was a little interrupted.

My Lords, *I* am come hither to ſubmit to that Judgement hath paſſed againſt me, I do it with with a very quiet and contented mind, I thank God I do freely forgive all the world a forgiveneſſe that is not ſpoken from the teeth outwards but from the very heart, I ſpeak it in *in* preſence of Almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards anyman living. I thank God I can ſay it, & truly too, my Conſcience bearing me witneſſe, that in all my imployment, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, *I* never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual proſperity of King and people: although it hath been my ill fortune to bee miſ-conſtrued.

I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kind, it *is* the common portion of us all, while we are in this life to erre, righteous judgement we muſt waitfor in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be miſ-judged one of another: There is one thing that *I* deſire to free my ſelf of and *I* am very confident (ſpeaking it nowwwith

ſo

ſo much cheerfulneſſe that I ſhall obtain your Chriſtian charity in the beliefe of it. I was ſo far from being againſt Parliaments, that I did alway think the Parliaments of *England* were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the beſt means under God to make the King and people happy.

For my death I here acquit all the world and beſeech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purpoſes of my heart I am not guilty of what I die for: And my Lord Primate, it is a great comfort for me that his Majeſty conceives me not meriting ſo ſevere and heavy a puniſhment as is at the utmoſt extention of this Sentene; I do infinitely rejoyce in this mercy o his and I beſeech God return it into his own boſome that he may find mercy when he ſtands moſt in need of it.

I wiſh this Kingdom all the proſperity and happineſſe in the world, I did it living and now dying it is my wiſh; I do moſt humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and deſire they would *lay* their hands upon their hearts and conſider ſeriouſly whether the beginning of the happineſſe and Reformation of a kingdome ſhould be written in *Letters* of bloud: conſider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never ſo unhappy, as that the laſt drop of my blood ſhould riſe up in judgment ſhould riſe up againſt any one of you, but I fear you are in wrong way.

My Lords, I have but one word more, and with that I ſhall end. I profeſſe that I dye a true and obedient Son to the Church of *England* wherein I was born and in which I was bred. peace and proſperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the anſwering) that I have been inclined to Popery, but I ſay truly from my heart, that from the time that I was one and twenty years of age to this preſent, going now upon forty nine; I never had in my heart, to bow of this religion of the Church of England: Nor ever had any man the boldneſſe to ſuggeſt any ſuch thing to me, to the beſt of my remembrance: and

ſo

ſo being reconciled by the merits of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Saviour, into whoſe boſome I hope I ſhall ſhortly be gathered to thoſe Eternall happineſſe, which ſhall never have end; I deſire heartily the forgiveneſſe of every man for any raſh or unadviſed words, or any thing done amiſs: and ſo my Lords and Gentlemen farewell: farewell all things of this world.

I deſire that you would be ſilent, join with me in prayer and I truſt in God we ſhall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the Accompliſhment of all happineſſe, where every tear ſhall be wiped away from our eyes, and every ſad thought from our hearts: and ſo God bleſs this Kingdome, and Jeſus have mercy on my ſoul.

Then turning himſelf about he ſaluted all the Noble men; and took a ſolemn leave of all conſiderable perſons upon the Scaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he ſaid, Gentlemen, I would ſay my prayers, and intreat you all to pray with me and for me, then his Chaplain laid the book of Common-prayer upon the Chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almoſt a quarter of an hour, then as long or longer without the Book, and concluded with the Lords prayer.

Standing up he eſpies his Brother, Sir George *Wentworth* and calls him to him ſaying, Brother, we muſt part, remember me to my Siſter, and to my Wife; and carry my bleſſing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God and continue an obedient Son to the Church of England. & warn him that he bear no private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me: and bid him beware that he meddle not with Church livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his Eſtate, and wiſh him to content himſelf to be a Servant to his Country; not aming at higher preferments,

Aliter) To his Son *Mr. Wentworth* he commends himſelf, and gives him charge to ſerve his God, to ſubmit to his King with all faith and allegiance in things temporall, to the Church in things Spirituall, chargeth him again and again, as he will anſwer it to him in heaven never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church for if he did, it would be a canker to eat up the reſt of his Eſtate.

Carry

Carry my bleſſing alſo to my daughter *Ann* and *Arabella*, charge them to ſerve and fear God, and he will bleſſe them: not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good or evill, and cannot ſpeak for it ſelf, God ſpeak for it, and bleſs it; now ſaid he I have nigh done, one ſtroak will make my wife husbandleſs, my dear children fatherleſs, and my poor ſervants maſterleſs, and will ſeparate me from my dear Brother, and all my friends. But let God be to you and them all in all.

After this, going to take off his doublet and to make himſelf unready he ſaid I thank my God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any diſcouragement riſing from any fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed; then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

Then he called, where is the man that is to do this laſt office? (meaning the executioner) call him to me, when he came and asked him forgiveneſs, he told him he forgave him and all the world; then kneeling down by the block he went to prayer again himſelf, the Primate of *Ireland* kneeling on the one ſide and the Miniſter on the other: To the which Miniſter, after prayer, he turned himſelf having done prayer & ſpoke few words ſoftly, having his hands lifted up & cloſed with the Miniſters hands

Then bowing himſelf to lay his head upon the block, he told the Executioner, that he would firſt lay down his head to try the ſtreneſſe of the block, and take it up again before he would lay it down for good and all: and ſo hee did, and before he layed it down again, tould the Executioner that he would give him warning when to ſtrike by ſtretching forth his hands; And preſently laying down his neck upon the block, and ſtretching forth his hands the Executioner ſtruck of his head at one blow, and taking it up in his hand ſhewed it to all the people, and ſaid, *God ſave the King.*

His body was afterwards embalmed and appointed to be carried into Yorkſhire, there to be buried amongſt his Anceſtors.

He left theſe 3 inſtructions for his ſon in writing.

Firſt, That he ſhould continue ſtill to be brought up under theſe Governours to whom he had committed

him

him; As being the beſt he could pick out of all thoſe within his knowledge is, and that he ſhould not change them, unleſſe they were weary of him; that he ſhould rather want himſelf, then they ſhould want any thing they could deſire,

Secondly, He chargeth him as he would anſwer it at the laſt day, not to put himſelf upon any publick employments till he was thirty years of age at leaſt: And then if his Prince ſhould call him to Publick ſervice, he ſhould carefully undertake it, to teſtifie his obedience, and withall to be faithful and ſincere to his Maſter, though he ſhould come to the ſame end himſelf did.

Thirdly, that he ſhould never lay any hand upon any thing that belonged to the Church; He foreſaw that ruine was like to come upon the Revenues of the Church, and that perhaps they might be ſhared amongſt the Nobility and Gentry: But if his Son medled with any of it, he wiſhed the curſe of God might follow him and all them, to the deſtruction *of the moſt Apoſtolicall Church upon Earth*.

JAmes *Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge, &c.* being commiſſioned by the Parliament of *Scotland* to be Generall of their Army marching into *England*, for the reſcuing the King out of the hands of the Sectarian Army; is defeated at *Preſton*, by General Lt. *Cromwel*: flies to *Uxeter* in *Staffordſhire*, and is there taken: and afterwards by a High Court of Juſtice is tryed as Earl of *Cambridge*, for Treaſon againſt the Engliſh Common-Wealth, is ſentenced by them, and beheaded accordingly. *March* 9. 1648. in the Pallace-yard at *weſtminſter*.

After the *Junto* of the High Court of Juſtice had embrewed their hands in the blood of their lawfull *Prince* and Soveraign: whereby they ſtruck a ſad conſternation & dread in the minds of all men, fearing whither their unlimited cruelty would reach: while yet the horrour of their late murder was freſh in every mans eye, and to make themſelves more formidable yet, and by number of their ſentences, to adde weight and authority to their pretended juriſdiction, and uſurped power over the *Houſe* of Peers, & to awe the more Ordinary ſort, (who could expect nothing but the utmoſt ſeverity, if they fell within the compaſſe of their Laws.) they ſacrificed three Noble-men next to their Cauſe. The firſt of whom being this Duke *Hamilton*, in affront to the *Scotch* Nation, with whom they were reſolved to quarrell, and whereof he was the chiefeſt and greateſt perſon (by a quibble of his being naturallized by his Earldome of *Cambridge*, they making uſe there, of the Law) was according to their Sentence, Executed in the *Pallace*-yard at *weſtminſter*, the day and year aforeſaid, where he ſpake as followeth.

The

Thomas Earle of Strafford
L: Leutenant of Ireland. etc.
G. G Sould by P. Stent

The three ſeveral Speeches of Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge*, The Earl of *Holland* and the Lord *Capell*, immediately before their Execution upon the *Scaffold* in the *Pallace-yard Weſtminſter*, on *Friday March* 9. 1649.

Duke *Hamilton* Earl of *Cambridge*, his *Speech* on the *Scaffold*. *March* 9. 1649.

UPon Friday the ninth of this inſtant, being the day appointed for the Execution of the ſentence of death upon Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capell*, about ten of Clock that morning L. Col. *Beecher* came with his Order to the ſeverall Priſoners at St. *James*, requiring them to come away; according to which Order they were carried in Sedans with a guard to Sr. *Thomas Cottes* houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where they continued about the ſpace of two hours, paſſing away moſt of that time in religious and ſeaſonable conferences with the Miniſters, there preſent with them. After which being called away to the Scaffold, it was deſired, that before they went they might have the opportunity of commending their ſouls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the Room voided, Mr. *Dalton* was deſired by the Lord of *Holland* to take that paine with them

Which was accordingly don with great appearance of ſolemn Affections among them, Prayer being concluded and hearty thanks returned by them all to the Miniſters who performed as alſo to the reſt who were their Aſſiſtants in this ſad time of trouble; the Earl of *Cambridg* prepared firſt to go towards the place of Execution; and after mutual embraces and ſome ſhort ejaculatory expreſſions to and for his fellow ſufferers, he tooke his leave of them all and went alongwith the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, when he had choſen for his Comforter in this his ſad condition,

The Scaffold being erected in the new Palace-yeard at *Weſtminſter*, over againſt the great Hall-Gate in the ſight of place where the High Court of Juſtice formerly ſate (the Hal-doors being open;) there was his Excellencies Regiment of Horſe commanded by Capt. *Diſher* and ſeveral Companies of Col. *Hewſon*, and Col. *Prides* Regiments of Foot drawn in the place: when the Earl came from *Weſtminſter* Hal near the Scaffold he was met by the Underſheriff of *Middleſex* and a Guard of his men who took the charg of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecher* and the partizans that were his Guard: The Sheriff of *London* being alſo according to command from the High Court of Juſtice, preſent, to ſee the Execution performed

Duke Hamilton being come upon the Scaffold and two of his own ſervants waiting upon him, he firſt ſpake to the Doctor as followeth,

Duke, whether ſhall I pray firſt;

Dr. *Sibbald*. As your Lordſhip pleaſes.

Duke. My Lord of *Denbigh* has ſent to ſpeak with me.

I know not the faſhion, I may ask you Sir; Doe thoſe Gentlemen expect I ſhould ſay any thing to them, or no? they cannot hear.

Dr. *Sibbald*. There will be a greater ſilence by and by. It will not be amiſs, if your Lordſhip defer your ſpeaking till you hear from his Lordſhip.

Duke. There is ſomething in it. He was with the *Houſe*,

Dr. *Sibbald.* I ſuppoſe he would give no interraptio to your Lordſhip, at this time were there not ſomethin of concernment in it.

Duke. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful ſervant to the State, and he was in great eſteem and reputation with them.

He is in the Hall, and ſent to ſpeak with a ſervant of mine to ſend ſomething to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you ſtay while you have a return from him. My Lord you ſhould do well to beſtow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy of God in Chriſt for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-ſtreaming Fountian of his precious Bloud, that purgeth us from all our ſins, even the ſins of the deepeſt die: the Bloud of Jeſus Chriſt waſhes away all our ſins, and that Bloud of Chriſt is poured forth upon all ſuch as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: God ſo loved the World that he gave his onely begotten Son, to the end, tha whoſoever believed in him ſhould not periſh, but hav everlaſting life: that is now, my Lord, the Rock upo which you muſt chiefly reſt, and labour to fix your ſel in the free mercy of God through Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe mercies are everlaſting to everlaſting, to everlaſting, unto all ſuch as with the eye of Faith behold him: behold Jeſus the Author and Finiſher of your Salvation, who hath faisfied the Juſtice of God by that all-ſufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Croſs for the ſins of the whole world, ſo that the ſting of death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath ſanctified it as a paſſage to everlaſting bleſſedneſs: It is true, the waters of *Jordan* run ſomewhat rough and ſurely betwixt the Wilderneſs and out paſſage into *Canaan*, but let us reſt upon the ark (my Lord) the Ark Chriſt Jeſus, that will carry us through and above all thoſe waves to the rock of ages, which no ſloud nor waves can reach unto, and to him who is yeſterday, to day, and the ſame for ever, againſt whom the powers and principalities, the gates of hell ſhall never be able to prevail: lift up & faſten your eys now upon Chriſt

crucified, and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your soul, when it shall be parted from this frail and mortall body: Alas no man would desire life if he knew before hand what it were to live, it is nothing but sorrows, vexation and trouble, grief and discontentment that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private: in every station and calling there are severall miseries and troubles that are inseparable from them therefore what a blessed thing it is to have a speedy and comfortable passage out of this raging sea into the Port of everlasting happinesse: We must passthrough a sea, but it is the sea of Christs Blood, in which never soul suffered shipwrack, in which we must be blown with winds and tempests, but they are the gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his servant was coming, he answered. So Sir: And turning to the under-Sheriffs Son, said,

Duke. Sir, you have your Warrant here,

Sheriffe. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of staying in regard of the Earl of *Denbighs* bidding to speak with me, I know not for what it is he desires me to stay,

Dr. Sibbald. I presume Mr. Sheriffe will not grudge your Lordship a few minutes time, when so great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordships servant being returned, and having delivered his message to the Earl *of Cambridge privately, he said: So, it is done now: and then turning the front of the Scaffe before which (as in all the rest of the Pallaces there was a great concourse of people, he said.*

Duke

Duke. I think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that ſee me, but my voice truly is ſo weak, ſo low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſſe, that I took delight in it: yet this being the laſt time that I am to do ſo, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end juſtly for my ſins, I ſhall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriffe, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to ſuffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdome of *England*: truly Sir, It was a Country that I equally loved, with my own, I made no difference: I never intended either the generality of it's prejudice or any particular mans in it: what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whoſe Commands I could not diſobey, without running into the ſame hazzard there of that condition that I am now in, The ends, Sir, of that Engagement is publick, they are in Print, and ſo I ſhall not need to ſpecifie them.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun parhaps will be too much in your Lordſhips face, as you ſpeak.

Duke. No Sir it will not burn it. I hope I ſhall ſee a brighter Sun then this, Sir, very ſpeedily.

Dr. *Sibbald.* The Sun of Righteouſneſſe my Lord.

Duke. (But to that which I was ſaying Sir.) It pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that Army under my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their General cloathed with a Commiſſion, ſtand here now ready to dye; I ſhall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I ſaid in my own defence at the Court of JUSTICE, my ſelf being ſatisfied with the command that is laid upon me and they ſatisfied with the juſtneſſe of their procedure; according to the Laws of this Land. God is juſt, and howſoever I ſhal not ſay any thing as to the matter of the Sentence, but that I do willingly ſubmit to his Divine Providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deſerve even a wordly puniſhment, as well as hereafter: for we are all ſinfull, Sir, and I a great one; yet for my

comfort, I know there is a God in heaven that is exceeding mercifull: I know my Redeemer sits at his Right Hand, and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breast) is Mediating for me at this instant: I am hopefull through his free grace and all-sufficient merits, to be pardoned of my sins, and to be received into his mercy; upon that I rely, trusting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jesus Christ; I have not been tainted with my Religion, I thank God for it, since my infancy, it hath been such as hath been profest in the Land and stablished: and now 'tis not this Religion or that Relgion, or this or that Fancy of men that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that's right one that is sure, and that comes from God, Sir, and in the free grace of our Saviour Sir there is truly something, that (*had I thought my Speech would have been thus taken) I would have digested it into some better method than now I can, and shal desire these Gentlemen that do write it, that they wil not wrong me in it, and that may not in this manner be published to my disadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have spoken thus when I came here,

*Observing the writers.

There is Sirs terrible aspersions has been laid upon my self, truly such as if my actions and intentions had not been such as they were pretended for: but notwithstanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing less intended then to serve him in it. I was his domestick servant, and there was nothing declaired by the Parliament, that was not really intended by me: and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I lose in another way: and that was one of the ends, as to the King: I speak onely of that, because the rest has many particulars, and to clear my self from so horrid an aspersion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other design known to me by the incoming of the Army, then what is really in the Declaration published, His person

ſon I do profeſſe I had reaſon to love as he was my King and as he had been my Maſter, it has pleaſed Godnow to diſpoſe of him, ſo as it cannot be thought flattery to have ſaid this, or any end in me for the ſaying of it, but to free my ſelf from that calumny which lay upon me I cannot gain by it: yet truth is that which we ſhall gain by for ever.

There hath been much ſpoken, Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdome: it is mentioned in that Declaration: and truly to that I did and do remit my ſelf, and have been very much laboured for diſcoveries of theſe inviters, tis no time to dilſemble. How willing I was to have ſerved this Nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honeſt, pious and Religious men: and how ready I would have been to have ſerved them if it had pleaſed them to have preſerved my life, in whoſe hands there was a power. They have not thought it fit, and ſo I am unuſefull in that which wilingly I would have done. As I ſaid at firſt (Sir) ſo I ſay now concerning thet point, I wiſh the Kingdoms happineſſe, I wiſh it peace, and truly Sir I wiſh that this bloud of mine may be the laſt that is drawn; and howſoever I may perhaps have ſome reluctancy with my ſelf, as to the matter of my fact, for my ſuffering for my fact, yet I freely for give all; Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my grave, His will be done that hath created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miſerable ſinfull creature now ſpeaking before him. For me to ſpeak to you (Sir) to you of State-buſineſſe, and the Government of the Kingdome, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing; My own inclination hath been to peace from the beginning, and it is known to many that I never was an ill inſtrument betwixt the King and his people; I never acted the prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no arms, I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God Almighty for the happineſſe of the King; & truly I ſhall pray ſtill that God may direct

rect him, as that may be done which shall tend to his glory, and the peace and happinesse of the Kingdome.

I have not much more to say, that I remember of; I think I have spoken of my Religion.

D. Sibbald. *Your Lordship has not so fully said it.*

Duke. Truly, I do believe I did say something.

Dr. Sibbald. *I know you did, 'tis pleasing to hear it from your Lordship again.*

Duke. Truly, Sir, for the profession of my Religion, that which I said was the establisshed Religion, and that which I have practised in my own Kingdome where I was bred and born, my Tenents they need not to be expresst, they are known to all. and I am not of a rigid opinion, many godly men there is that may have scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more then at any time, differing in Opinion does not move me (Not any mans) my own is clear. Sir, The Lord forgive me my sins, and I freely forgive all those that even I might (as a wordly man) have the greatest animosity against; We are bidden to forgive, Sir. 'tis a command laid upon us (and there mentioned) *forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.*

D. Sibb. *'Tis our Saviours Rule*, Love your enemies, Bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, do good to them that despightfully use you.

Duke. Sir it is high time for me to make an end of this and truly I remember no more that I have to say, but to pray to God Almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. *Sibbald*, he prayed, &c.

When the Duke had prayed a good while he turned himself to the Executioner and said, Which way is it you would have me lye, Sir,

Executio-

Executioner The Executioner pointing to the Front of the Scaffold, the Earl replyed, VVhat, my head this way (Then the Vnder-Sheriffs Son ſaid, my Lord, the Order is, that you ſhould lay your head towards the High Court of Juſtice.

The Duke, after a little diſcourſe in private with ſome of his Servants, kneeled down on the ſide of the Scaffold and prayed a while to himſelf.

VVhen he had finiſht his Prayer, Dr. *Sybbald* ſpake to him thus:

My Lord, *I humbly beſeech God that you may with an holy Chriſtian courage give up your ſoul to the hand of your faithfull Creator and gracious Redeemer; and need not be diſmaid with any ſad apprehenſion of terrours of this death, and what a bleſſed and glorious exchange you ſhall make within a very few minutes.*

Then with a cheerful and ſmiling countenance, the Earl imbracing the Doctor in his arms, ſaid.

Duke Truly, Sir, I do take you in my arms, and truly I bleſſe God for it, I do not fear, I have an aſſurance that is grounded here (laying his hand upon his heart,) now that gives me more true joy than ever I had, I paſſe out of a miſerable world to go into an Eternal and glorious Kingdome; and Sir, though *I* have been a moſt ſinfull creature; yet Gods mercy I know is infinite, and I bleſſe God for it, I go with ſo clear a Conſcience, that I know not the man that I have perſonally injured.

D. Sibbald, My Lord, *it is a marvellous great ſatisfaction that at this laſt hour you can ſay ſo. I beſeech the* Lord *for his eternal mercy ſtrengthen your Faith, that in the very moment of your Diſſolution, you may ſee the Armes of the Lord* Jeſus *ſtretched out ready to receive your ſoul.*

Then the Earl of Cambridg embracing thoſe his Servants which were there preſent, ſaid to each of them You have been very faithfull to me, and the Lord bleſs you.

Duke. Then turning to the Executioner ſaid, I ſhall ſay a very ſhort Prayer to my God, while I lye down there; and when I ſtretch out my hand (my right hand) then Sir, do your Duty: and I do freely forgive you, and ſo I do all the world.

D. *Sibbald. The Lord in great mercy go along with You, & bring You to the poſſeſſion of everlaſting life, ſtrengthning Your Faith in* Jeſus Chriſt. *This is a paſſage,* My Lord, *a ſhort paſſage unto eternal glory, I hope through the free grace of Your gracious God. You are now able to ſay,* O Death where is thy ſting, O Grave where is thy Victory; *and to make this comfortable anſwer,* Bleſſed be God, Bleſſed be God, who hath given me an aſſurance of victory through Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the Earl of Cambridge ſaid to the Executioner, Muſt I ly along?

Execu. Yes, and't pleaſe your Lordſhip.

Duke. VVhen I ſtretch forth my hand —— but I will fit my head, firſt tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lye.

Execu. Your ſhirt muſt be pinned back, for it lyes too high upon your ſhoulders, (*which was done accordingly.*

Dr-

D. *Sibbald.* My Lord. *Now lift up Your eyes, now unto Jesus Christ, and cast Your self now into the everlasting Armes of Your gracious Redeemer.*

Then the Earl having laid his head over the Block said, Is this right;

D. *Sibbald Iesus the Son of David have mercy upon Your soul*

Execu. Lie a little lower. Sir.

Duk. Well, stay then till I give you the signe. And so having laid a short space devoutly praying to himself he stretched out his right hand whereupon the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, which was received by 2. of his servants then kneeling by him, into a Crimson Taffatty Scarf, and that with the body immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold for that purpose, and from thence conveyed to the house that was Sir. *John Hamiltons* at the Mews.

This execution being done the Sheriffs Guard went immediatly to meet the Earl of *Holland*, which they did in the mid-way between the Scaffold and westminster-Hall, and the Under Sheriffs son having received him into his charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, he taking M*Bolton* all the way in his hand passed all along to to the Scaffold discourfing together, upon which being come, observing his voice would not reach to the people in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold he said;

The

Hen: Rich Earle of Holland, Ba:
of Kensington, & Lo: Generall. &c

P Stent excudit

The Earl of Holland *riſeth at* Kingſton *with other Noble-men on behalf of the King then a Priſoner; defeated there, flyes to St.* Neots, *where he is taken, he is therefore condemned before the H.C. of Juſtice, and beheaded in the Pallace-yard at* Weſtminſter, *March* 9. 1644.

THis Nobleman had a time ſerved the Parliament in the beginning of the War, and afterwards deſerted them, but finding cool reſpect at Court upon his comming thither, returned to *London* again: where after the Warre was ended, the whole Nation being diſ-ſatisfied with the delays of the the Parliament in ſetling the Kingdome: he was induced to engage in the deſign of reſtoring the King the ſame time that the aforeſaid Duke *Hamilton* was entred *England*,

After

After the murder of the King they proceeded in their way of Justice with these Noble persons. This Earl, for all his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* had done them such great service by Sea against the King in keeping the fleet from turning to the Prince of *Wales*, then riding Admiral at Sea in the Downs could not be exempted from their cruelty: but partly to reckon with him for his first forlorn in going to *Oxford*, onely by his Example to deter others though never so great assisted by potent friends to abet the Kings cause, and Thirdly to shew their absoluteness over the lives of all men, notwithstanding the most powerful intercessions: He was condemned by the High Court of Iustice to be beheaded which was executed in the place at the time abovesaid.

His SPEECH at his Execution was as followeth.

Henry

Henry *Lord* Rich, *Earl of* Holland, *His Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his death*, March 9.

Holland.

IT is to no purpoſe (I think) to ſpeake any thing here which way muſt I ſpeak; And then being directed to to the front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rales) ſaid: I think it is fit to ſay ſomething, ſince God hath called me to this place. The firſt thing which I muſt profeſſe, is, what concerns my Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and the which by Gods grace and mercy I ſhall dye. I have not lived according to that Education I had in that family where I was bred and born. I hope God will forgive me my ſins, ſince I conceive it is very much his pleaſure to bring me to this place, for the ſins that I have committed. The cauſe that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much miſtaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Deſigns to the State, and to the Kingdome Truly I look upon it as a judgment and a juſt judgement of God, not but I have offended ſo much the State and the Kingdome, and the Parliament, as that I have had no extream vanity in ſerving them very extraordinarily. For thoſe Actions that I have done, I think they have gone on couragiouſly though at laſt defeated, & ſin another

ther posture then they were when *I* was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from those principles that ever I have professed: I have lived in them, and by Gods grace will dye in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them further than I thought reasonable, and truly there *I* left them: but there hath been nothing that I have said or done or professed, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon the principles that I ever have gon upon; which was to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I should have said in the first place) the Commonwealth, and to seek, the Peace of the Kingdom; That made me think it no improper times, being prest out by Accidens and Circumstances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, since there was something then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on for sending Propositions to the King: that was the furthest aim that I had, and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all. And God be Praised, although my blood comes to be shed here, there was I think scarce a drop of bloodshed in that action that I was engaged in. For the present Affairs as they are I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in such a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a Judgement of them; and therefore I must make use of prayers; rather then of my Opinion; which are, That God would blesse this Kingdome, this Nation this State; that he would settle it in a way agreeable to what this Kingdome hath been happilie governed under by a King, by the Lord, by the Commons; a Government that I conceive it hath flourished much under and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a disorder, and a confusion, than the contrary. I look upon the posterity of the King, and truly my conscience directs me to it, to desire that if God be pleased, that these people may look upon them with that affection that they owe, that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through bloud nor through disorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glorie, that God in their birth intended to them. I shall pray with

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all my heart, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindneſs & their affection, that I have found from them. * I have ſaid what Religion I have been bred in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practiſed. I began with it, and I muſt end with it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my breeding. I have told you likewiſe that the Family where I was bred, hath been an exemplary Family (I may ſay ſo, I hope, without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulneſs to this Kingdom and to this State. I have endeavoured to do thoſe actions that become an honeſt man, and a good Engliſh man, and which became a good Chriſtian. I have been willing to oblige thoſe that have been in trouble, thoſe that have been in perſecution, and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have their prayers and their kindneſs now in this diſtreſs and in this condition and I think it a great reward. I pray God reward them for it.

* *looking toward* M. Bol.

I am a great ſinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my prayers, to give me faith to truſt in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a paſſage to an eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt, which I truſt to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God. And ſo I pray God bleſs you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt execution, and the laſt blood that is likely to be ſpilt among you. And then turning to the ſide-rayl, he prayed for a good ſpace of time; after which Mr. *Boſton* ſaid.

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have truſted, My Lord, I hope that here is your laſt prayer, there will no more prayers remain, but praiſes; and I hope that after this day is over, there will a day begin that ſha'l never have end; and I look upon this (my Lord) the morning of it, the morning of that day. My Lord, You kn w where our fulneſs lies where your riches lye, wh re is your onely rock to anchor on you know there is fulneſs i Chriſt: If the Lord comes not in with fulneſs of comfort to you, yet reſolve to wait upon him while you live, and to truſt in him when you die; and ſay, I will die here, I

Will perish at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jesus Christ. Certainly, he that came to seek and save lost sinners, will not reject lost sinners when they come to seek him; He that intreateth us to come, will not slight us when we come to intreat him. My Lord there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of Faith, and that eye of Hope exercise these Graces now, there will be no exercise hereafter As your Lordship said, here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and take a farewel of Repentance and all these; and welcome God, and welcome Christ, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happiness to all eternity; and so it will be an happy passage then, if it be a passage here from misery to happiness. And though it be but a sad way, yet, if it will bring you into the presence of joy, although it be a valley of tears, although it be a shadow of death, yet if God will please to bring you, and make it a passage to that happiness, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give you an heart to taste some sweetness and love in this bitter Potion, and to see something of mercy and goodness to you, and shew you some sign and token of Good, so that your soul may see that which we have had already experience of (blessed be God for it) many experiences, many expressions, not onely in words, nor tears; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope (my Lord) You that have given so many Evidence to us, I hope You want none your self, but that the Lord will be pleased to support You, and bear up Your Spirit, and if there want evidence; there is reliance, my security lies not in my knowing that I shall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but my resting and relying upon him; when the Author of Faith is thrown out, there may be shakings and tossing, but there is safety, nothing shall interrupt safety, although something may interrupt security: my safety is sure, although I apprehend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark; What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, staggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkness, though I come trembling and staggering in this night, yet I shall be sure to find comfort and fixedness

ednes in him. And the Lord of Heaven *be the ſtrength, ſtay and ſupport of Your ſoul, and the* Lord *furniſh You with all thoſe graces which may carry you into the boſom of the Lord Jeſus that when You expire this life, You may be able to expire it into him, in whom You may begin to live to all* Eternity; *and that is my humble Prayer.*

Holland. M. *Bolton*, God hath given me long time in this world; he hath carried me through many great accidents of Fortune, he hath at laſt brought me down into a condition, where I finde my ſelf brought to an end, for a diſ-affection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I ſaid before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to ſuffer for that cauſe; I look upon it as a great judgement of God for my ſins. And truely, Sir, ſince that the death is violent, I am the leſs troubled with it, becauſe of thoſe violent deaths that I have ſeen before; principally my Saviour, that hath ſhewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cauſe, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long ſince the King my maſter paſſed in the ſame manner; and truely I hope that his purpoſes and intentions were ſuch, as a man may not be aſhamed not onely to follow him in the way that was taken with him but likewiſe not aſhamed of his purpoſes, if God had given him life. I have often diſputed with him concerning many things of this kinde, and I conceive his ſufferings, and his better knowledge, and better underſtanding (if God had ſpared him life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himſelf, and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have ſeen and known that thoſe bleſſed ſouls in heaven have paſſed thither by the gate of ſorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and ſince it is Gods pleaſure to diſpoſe of me this way, I ſubmit my ſoul to him, with all comfort, and that with all hope that he hath made this my end, and this conſoluſion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheleſs this lowneſs ſhall raiſe me to the higheſt glory for ever.

Truly, I have not said much in publick to the people, concerning the peculiar Actions that I conceive I have done by my counsels in this Kingdom, I conceive they are well known, it were something of vanity (me thinks) to take notice of them here: I'le rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own bosome, and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my life, either malice or bloodshed, or prejudice to any creature that lives. For that concerns my Religion, I made my profession before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in opposition to some liberties they had conceived them to be taken; and truly, there was some mark upon me, as if I had some taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I have taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tyed so by my Conscience, I thought it by my charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the last instant of my time, all that I can say, and all that I can adhere unto is this; That as I am a great sinner, so I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publickly in a shew of shame in the way of this suffering (truely I understand it not to be so) I understand it to be a glory, when I consider who hath gone before me, and a glory when I consider I had no end in it but what I conceive to be the service of God, the King and the kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, since I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatsoever the action seems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul; I have no relyance but upon Christ: for my self, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthiest of sinners; my life hath been a vanity, and a continued sin, and God may justly bring me to this end, for the sins I have committed against him, and were there nothing else but the iniquities that I have

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committed in the Way of my Life, I looke upon this as a great Juſtice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this puniſhment; And thoſe Hands that have been active in it, if any ſuch there hath been; I pray God forgive them; I pray God that there may not be many ſuch Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I ſaid before) the laſt Shew, that this People ſhall ſee of the Blood of Perſons of Condition, of Perſons of Honour: I might ſay ſomething of the way of our Tryal, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been ſeen in this Kingdom, but becauſe that I would not ſeem as if I made ſome complaint I will not ſo much as mention it, becauſe no body ſhall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my Fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God by whom I fall; I take it entirely from him, I ſubmit my ſelf to him, I deſire to rowl my ſelf into the Arms of my bleſſed Saviour; when I come to this place, when I bow down my ſelf there, I hope God will raiſe me up; and when I bid farewel, as I muſt now to Hope and to Faith, that Love will abide; I know now nothing to accompany the ſoul out of this World but Love; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms Meditation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, in whom I believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

*Pointing to the Block.

Hodges. *The* Lord *make over unto You The righteouſneſs of his own Son, it is that Treaſury that he hath beſtowed upon You; and the* Lord *ſhew You the* Light *of his Countenance, and fill You full with his joy and kindneſs. O my dear* Lord, *the* Lord *of* Heaven *and Earth be with You, and the* Lord *of Heaven and Earth bring You to that Safety.*

Holland. I ſhall make as much haſt as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my ſoul; I looke upon my ſelf entirely in Him, and hope to find mercy through Him, I expect it, and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for

Uncleanneſs, my ſoul muſt receive it, for did I reſt in any thing elſe I have nothing but ſin and corruption in me; I have nothing but that, which inſtead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell,

Bolton. But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the righteouſneſſe of another, you will appear glorious, though now ſinful in your ſelf: The Apoſtle ſaith, I *deſire not to be found in my own righteouſneſs*, and when you are clothed with another, the Lord will own you, and I ſhall ſay but thus much: Doubt not that ever God will deny ſalvation to ſinners, that come to him, when the end of all his death and ſufferings was the ſalvation of ſinners; when as I ſay the whole end, and the whole deſign, and the great work, that God had to do in the world, by the death of Chriſt, wherein he laid out all his counſells, and infinite wiſdom and mercy, and goodneſſe, beyond which there was a *Non ultra* in Gods thoughts, when this was the great deſign, and great end, the ſalvation of poor ſinners, that poor ſouls ſhould come over to him and live; certainly when ſinners come he will not reject, he will not refuſe. And, my Lord, do but think of this, the greateſt work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, never any thing like it: And this blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, was ſhed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vain elſe: You ſee the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over, and ſhould he deny them, there were no end nor fruit of the blood and ſufferings of the Lord Jeſus: and had your Lordſhip been with Chriſt in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody ſweat, ſweating drops of blood, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art thou not now reconciling an angry God, and me together

ogether, art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? ar thou not interposing thy self between the justice of God and my soul: Would see not have said, yea? and surely then he will not deny it now. My Lord, his Passions are over, his Compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into an higher place that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and, my Lord; think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Christ: I am lost; I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinfull; be it so; as bad as God will make me: and as vile as I possibly can conceive my self, I am willing to be: but when I have said all; the more I advance then riches; and honour that grace of God and why should I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a disposition for him to shew me mercy. that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and say Grace, grace to the Lord to all eternity, that God should own such a Creature that deserves nothing; and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his grace: And this is certain, the riches of his grace he throweth amongst men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himself, if we can give him but the glory of his grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that fulness, My Lord, that fulness be your comfort, that fulness of Mercy, that fulness of Love, that fulness of Righteousness and power to be now your riches, and your onely stay and the Lord interpose himself between God and you as your Faith hath endeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul: so I doubt not there he stand (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your self; yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knowes what you would desire, and wait upon him while you live: trust in him when you die, there is riches enough, and mercy enough, if he open not, yet die at his door, say there I'le die; there is mercy enough.

Holland

Holland And here is the place whetein Ile lye down before him from whence I hope he will raiſe me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy; into his arms I commend my ſpirit, into his bleeding arms, that when I leave this bleeding body that muſt lye upon this place, he will receive that ſoul that ariſeth out of it, and receive it into his eternall mercy, through the merits, through the worthineſs, through the Mediation of Chriſt that hath purchaſed it with his own precious blood.

Bolton. My *Lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above, and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodneſſe of God: and if this be the morning of eternity, if this be the riſe of Glory, if God pleaſeth to throw you down here, to raiſe you up for ever, ſay, Welcome* Lord, *welcome that death that ſhall make way for life, and welcome any condition that ſhall throw me down here, to bring me into the poſſeſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Hodges. *My Lord, if you have made a deed of gift of your ſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, to be found onely in him; I am confident you ſhall ſtand at the day of Chriſt, my dear Lord, we ſhall meet in happineſſe.*

Holland. Chriſt Jeſus receive my ſoul, my ſoul hungers and thirſts after him. Clouds are gathering, and I truſt in God through all my heavineſſe, and I hope through all impediments, he will ſettle my intereſt in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my ſoul in deſpight of all calumnies, and all that the Devill and Satan can invent, will carry it into Eternal mercy, there to receive the bleſſedneſſe of his preſence to all Eternity.

Hodges

Hodges *My Lord it was his by Creation, it is his own by redemption and purchase; it is likewise his own by resignation; O my Lord look therefore to the Lamb of God that sits at the right hand of God to take away the sins of the World, O that lamb of God!*

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my soul: and that Lamb of God, that sits upon the Throne to judge that 24. that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only trusts upon his Mercy and compassion, and that as he hath purchased me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. *My Lord think of this,* there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ; who is it that can condemn? it is Christ that justifies: *And therefore look upon this (My Lord) upon this Christ that justifies:* Hell, *Death, Sin, Satan; nothing shall be able to condemn,* it is Christ that justifies you.

Holland Indeed if Christ justify, no body can condemn, and I trust in God, in his justification, though there is a confusion here without us, and though there are wonders and stirring that now disquiet, yet I trust that I shall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my soul.

Bolton. *I doubt not my Lord, but as you are a Spectatle of pity here, so you are an object of Gods mercy above.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* looking over among the people, pointing to a Souldier, said, This honest man took me a prisoner, you little thought I should have been brought to this, when I delivered my self to you upon conditions; and espying Captain *Watson* on horse-back, putting off his hat said to him, God bee with you Sir, God reward you Sir.

Bolton

Bolton. My Lord, throw your selfe into the arms of mercy, and say, there I will Anchour, and there I will dye, he is a Saviour for us in all conditions, whither shall we go? he hath the words of Eternall life: and upon him do you rest, wait while you live and ever trust in death.

Holland. Here must now be my Anchour, a great Storm makes me find my Anchour: and but in storms no body trusts to his Anchour; and therefore I must trust upon my Anchor (upon that God, said Mr. *Bolton*, upon whom your Anchour trusts) yea, God I hope, will Anchour my soul fast upon Christ Jesus; and if I dye not with that clearnesse and that heartiness that you speak of, truly, I will trust in God, though he kill me, I will rely upon him, and in the mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is mercy enough, my Lord, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt: they shall never go a begging to another door (my Lord) that come to him. Then the Earl of *Holland* speaking to Mr. *Hodges*, said, I pray God reward you for all your kindnesse, and pray as you have done, instruct my Family, that they may serve God with faithfulnesse and holinesse, with more diligence, then truly I have been carefull to presse them unto; you have the charge of the same place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your kindnesse, and the goodnesse of your Conscience.

Dr. *Sibbald* standing upon the Scaffold, in his passage to Colonell *Beecher* expressed himselfe thus to his Lordship.

Dr. Sibbald. *The Lord lift up the Light of his Countenance upon you and you shall be safe.*

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* embraced Lieutenant Colonell *Beecher*, and took his leave of him; After which he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great paines and affections to his soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his love into his bosome. Mr. *Bolton* said to him, The Lord God support you, and be

seen

een in this great extremity; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you; and make your death the passage unto Eternal life---

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner said, here, my friend, let my cloaths and my body alone, there is 10. pounds for thee, that is better then my cloaths I am sure of it,

Execut. Will your *Lord*ship be pleased to give me a Sign when I shall strike? And when his Lordship, said, you have roome enough here, have you not? and the Executioner said, *Yes.*

Bolton, The Lord be your strength, there is Riches in him; The Lord of Heaven impart himselfe to you, he is able to save to the uttermost; *We* cannot fall so low as to fall below the everlasting arms of God; and therefore the *Lord* be a support and stay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleased to make this an advantage to that life and glory that will make amends for all.

Holland Then the Earl of Holland turning to the Executioner, said Friend, do you hear me, if you take up my head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, Fare you well, thou art an honest fellow; and to another, God be with thee, thou art an honest fellow; and then said stay, I will kneel down, and ask God forgivenesse, and then prayed for a pretty space with seeming earnestnesse.

Bolton, *The Lord grant you may find life in death.*

Holland VVhich is the way of lying? (which they shewed him) & then going to the front of the Scaffold he said to the People, God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such accident as may bring you to any death is violent, either by VVar or by these accidents, but that there may be peace among you, and you may find that these accidents that have hapned to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdom: it is that I desire, that I beg of God next the saving of my soul: I pray God give all happinesse to this Kindom, to this people and this Nation; and then turning to the Executioner, said, how must I lye? I know not.

Execu-

Execu. *Lye down flat up on your belly: and then having laid himself down, he said must I lye closer?*

Execu. *Yes, and backwarder.*

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike: and then as he lay, seemed to pray with much affection for a short space, and then lifting up his head, said where is the man? and seeing the Executioner by him, he said stay while I give the sign; and presently after stretching out his hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, now, now, and just as the words were coming out of his mouth: the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body.

Here followeth the SPEECH of *Arthur* Lord *Capell*, at his Execution on the *Scaffold*.

Henry

Arthur Lord Capell *having ſerved the King throughout the War, upon my Lord* Hoptons *Articles in* Cornwall, *comes home to his Houſe in* Hertfordſhire; *upon the joyning of the* Kentiſh *and* Eſſex *Forces, upon the account of reſtoring the King; meets them at* Colcheſter; *where, upon the Delivery of that Town, hee had Quarter for life promiſed by the Generall, notwithſtanding, which he is Sentenced by the H. C. of Juſtice, and is beheaded in the Pallace-Yard* VVeſtminſter, *March* 9, 1648.

THis Noble Lord had deſerved ſo well of the King and Kingdome by his conſtant Loyalty, to the endangering his life, and a very large Eſtate; that he could not but merit ill at the hands of thoſe bloudy Rebells, who without ſcruple or conſideration condemned all that for that glorious Cauſe had fell into their clutches.

But

But more eſpecially did they revenge themſelves upon this perſonage, becauſe he had been privy Counſellour to the Prince then King our now Soveraign: that they might wreak their fury upon ſome of his neareſt Miniſters, he being himſelf out of their reach. This Lord had endeavoured to eſcape, but by his too eaſie confidence, diſcourſing with a Waterman that carried him over the Thames, was betrayed and taken by him at *Lambeth*. The Fellow yet ſurvives to the ſhame, ſpight and ſorrow of himſelfe, and the hatred and deteſtation of all men. My Lord at his Tryall made a gallant Defence, pretending the Law and Protection of the Sword given him at *Colcheſter*: after hee found he could not have the benefit of the Law of the Land (to wit) His Tryall by his Peers, which hee ſtoutly and peremptorily inſiſted on; to the refuting and baffling of the pretended juriſdiction and authority of their High Court. But the Generall waving his Engagement for the one, and the High Court maintaining the other, *viz.* Their power of trial, he was at length ſentenced there to be beheaded, which accordingly was executed at the ſame place and time as before, where he ſpake this plain reſolute Engliſh ſpeech as followeth, *&c.*

Arthur

Arthur Lord *Capell*, his Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his death, *March* the 9. 1649.

The *Execution of the Lord of* Holland *being thus performed, the Lord* Capell *was brought to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the people on both sides, looking very austerely about him, and being come upon the Scaffold, Lieut, Col.* Beecher *said to him* Is your Chaplain here?

Capell. No, I have taken my leave of him: and perceiving some of his servants to weep, he said, Gentlemen, refrain your selves, refrain your selves: and turning to Lieut. Col. *Beecher*, he said, what? did the Lords speak with their hats off, or no?

Col. Beech. *With their hats off: and then coming to the front of the Scaffold, he said, I shall hardly be understood here I think, and then began his Speech as followeth.*

Capel. The concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the cauſe of this violent death of mine, ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you: When I made an addreſs to them (which was the laſt) told them with much ſincerity; that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundles mercies in Jeſus Chriſt; and truly I ſtill pray that prayer, and I beſeech the God of Heaven forgive any injury they have done to me, from my ſoul I wiſh it. And truly, this I tell you as a Chriſtian, to let you ſee I am a Chriſtian. But it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomewhat more, that I am a Proteſtant? And truly, I am a Proteſtant, and very very much in love with the profeſſion of it; after the manner as is was eſtabliſhed in *England* by the thirty nine Articles, a bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch an one as truly, I never knew none ſo good. I am ſo far from being a Papiſt, which ſome body have (truely) very unworthily at ſome time charged me withall, that truely, I profeſs to you though I love good works, and commend good works, yet I hold they have nothing to at all to do in the matter of ſalvation, my Anchor-hold is this; *That Chriſt loved me, and gave himſelf for me*; that is that I reſt upon,

And truly ſomething I ſhall ſay to you as a Citizen of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the whole World, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it; but truely, I will not trouble you much with that, becauſe in another place I have ſpoken verie largely and liberally about it, I believe you will hear by other means what Arguments I uſed in that caſe: But truly; that, that is ſtranger, you that are Engliſh-men, behold here an Engliſh man here before you and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England* not by any Law of *England*; nay ſhall I tell you more; (which is ſtrongeſt of all) contrary to all the Lawes of *England* that I know of: And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civill part of my death, and the cauſe

that I have maintained, I die (I take it for maintaining the fifth Commandement, injoyned by God himself, which enjoyns reverence and obedience to Parents: All Divines on all hands, though they contradict one another in many several opinions, yet all Divines on all hands do acknowledge, that here is intended *Magistracy* and *Order*; and certainly I have obeyed that Magistracy and that Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey: and truly, I do say very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth Commandement given by God himself, and written with his own finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity then his, that said of himself, *For suffering an unjust judgement upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust judgement.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take occasion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here protest to you, that I did give my Vote to that Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath washed that away with a more precious bloud, the bloud of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it: truly this I may say, I had not the least part nor degree of malice in doing of it; but I must confess again to Gods glory, and the accusation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to resist so great a torment as carried that business at that time. And truly, this I think I am most guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatsoever it was, GOD I am sure hath pardoned it, hath given me the assurance of it, that Christ Jesus his bloud hath washed it away; and truly, I do from my Soul wish, that all men that have any stain by it, may seriously repent, and receive a remission and pardon from God for it. And now Gentlemen, we have had an occasion by this intimation to remember his Majesty, our KING

that

that laſt was; and I cannot ſpeak of him, nor think of it, but truly, I muſt needs ſay, that in my opinion, that have had time to conſider all the images of all the greateſt and vertuouſeſt Princes in the world: and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more vertuous, and a more ſufficient Prince known in the World, then our gracious King CHARLES that died laſt: God Almighty preſerve our King that now is, his Son; God ſend him more fortunate and longer dayes: od Almighty to reſiſt him, that he may exceed both the vertues and ſufficiences of his Father: For certainly, I that have been a Councellour to him, and have liv'd long with him, and in a time when diſcovery is eaſily enough made for he was young (he was about thirteen fourteen, fifteen, or ſixteen years of age) thoſe years I was with him, truly, I never ſaw greater hopes of vertue in any young perſon then in him: great judgement, great underſtanding, great apprehenſion, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Engliſhman in his inclination; and I pray God reſtore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and ſend a great happineſs both to you and to him, that he may long live and Reign among you, and that that Family may Reign till thy Kingdom come, that is, while all temporal power is conſumed: I beſeech God of his mercy give much happineſs to this your King, and to you that in it ſhall be his Subjects by the grace of Jeſus Chriſt.

Truly I like my beginning ſo well, that I will make my concluſion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that are the cauſers of my coming hither, and I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wiſh; and truely, for my part, I will not accuſe any one of them of malice, truely I will not say, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very ſoul I forgive them every one. And ſo the Lord of Heaven bleſſe you all, God Almighty be infinite in goodneſſe and mercy to you, and direct you

in those waies of obedience to his commands, to his Majestie, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in so good and so obedient people. God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preserve this Kingdom, God Almighty preserve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executiner, (who was gone off the Scaffold) said which is the Gentleman? which is the man; Answer was made, he is coming; He then said, Stay, I must pull off my Doublet first, and my wastcoat; and then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* said, O friend I prethee come hither: Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* said, I forgive thee from my soul, and not onely forgive thee, but I shall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life: There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my clothes and those things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you shall be fully rerompenced: but I desire my bodie may not be stripped here, and no body to take notice of my bodie but my own servants Look you friends this I shall desire of you, that when I lie down, you would give me a time for a particular short prayer.

Lieu. Col. Beecher, *Make your own sign my Lord.*

Capel. Stay a little; Which side do you stand upon? (speaking to the Executioner;) Stay, I think I should lay my hands forward that way (*pointing fore-right*) and answer being made, Yes; he stood still a little while, and then said, God Almighty bless all this people, God Almighty stench this blood, God Almighty stench, stench, stench this issue of blood: this will not do the businesse God Almightie finde out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his servants, said, *Baldwin*, I cannot see any thing that belongs to my wife: but I must desire thee and beseech her to rest wholly upon Jesus Christ to be contented and fully satisfied: & then speaking to his servants, he said, God keep you, and Gentlemen, let me now do a businesse quicklie, privatelie, and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my soul.

L. *Col.*

L. *Col.* Beecher *I wiſh it.*

Capel. Pray at the moment of ſtriking joyn your prayers, but make no noiſe (turning to his ſervants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. *My Lord put on your cap,*

Capel, Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now. *As he was putting up his hair,*

And then turning to the Executioner, he ſaid, honeſt man I have forgiven thee therefore ſtrike boldly; from my ſoul do it.

Then a Gentleman ſpeaking to him he ſaid, Nay pre, thee be contented be quiet, good Mr. ——— be quiet.

Then turning to Executioner, he ſaid, VVell, you are ready when I am ready, are you not: and ſtretching out his hands he ſaid, Then pray ſtand off Gentlemen, Then going to the front of the Scaffold, he ſaid to the People, Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to aske it of you, That you would all joyn in prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my ſoul, and that for his alone mercies in Chriſt Jeſus God almighty keep you all.

Execut. *My Lord ſhall I put up your haire;*

Capel, I, I prethee do; and then as he ſtood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he ſaid, O God, I do with a perfect and a willing heart ſubmit to thy will: O God I do moſt willingly humble my ſelf: and then kneeling down, ſaid, I will try firſt how I can lye; and laying his head over the block, ſaid, Am I well now;

Execut. *Yes.*

And then as lay with both his hands ſtretched out, he ſaid to the Executioner, Here lie both my hands, and when I lift up my hands thus (*lifting up his right hand*) then you may ſtrike

And then after he had ſaid a ſhort prayer he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body; which was taken up by his ſervants, and put (with his body) into a coffin as the former.

As

A Relation, together, with the Speech of Col. John Morris, *lately Governour of* Pomfret *Caſtle, at the place of his Execution at* York, *Aug.* 23. 1649.

WHen he was brought out of priſon, looking upon the Sledge that was there ſet for him, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, knocking upon his breaſt, he ſaid, I am as willing to go to my death, as to put off my doublet to go to bed. I deſpiſe the ſhame as well as the Croſs, I know I am going to a joyful place: with many like expreſſions.

When the Poſt met him about St. *Iames* Church, that was ſent to the Parliament to mediate for a reprive; and told him he could not prevail in it, he ſaid, Sir, I pray God reward you for your pains, I hope and am well aſſured to find a better pardon then any they can give, my hope is not in man, but in the living God.

At the place of Execution he made his profeſſion of his faith, his breeding, his cauſe he had fought in.

Gentlemen, firſt I was bred up in the true Proteſtant Religion, having my education and breeding from that honoured houſe my Dear Lord and Maſter *Strafford*, which place I dare boldly ſay, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet was before it, I much doubt, better then any will be after it; unleſs it pleaſe God to put a period to theſe diſtracted times: this Faith and Religion, I ſay, I have been bred in, and I thank God I have hitherto lived in, without the leaſt wavering, and now I am reſolved by Gods aſſiſtance to die in.

Thoſe pains are nothing, if compared to thoſe dolours and pains which Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour hath

ſuffered

ſuffered for us: when in a bloudy ſweat he endured the wrath of God, the pain of hell, and the curſed and ſhamefull death which was due to our ſins, therefore I praiſe the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous puniſhment, that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are moſt glorious and bleſſed Saints with Chriſt in heaven: It is the Lords affliction, and who will not take any affliction in good part when it comes from the hand of God? and what? ſhall we receive good from the hands of God, and not receive evil; And though I deſire, as I am carnal, that this cup may depart from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done. Death brings unto the godly an end of ſinning, and of all miſeries due unto ſin, ſo that after death there ſhall be no more ſorrow, nor cry, or pain, for *God ſhall wipe away all tears from our eyes*; by death our ſouls ſhall be delivered from thraldom, and this *corruptible body ſhall put on incorruption and this mortal immortality*.

Therefore bleſſed are they that are delivered out of ſo vile a world, and freed from ſuch a body of bondage and corruption; the ſoul ſhall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlaſting bliſs and glory; it takes us from the miſeries of this world, and ſociety of ſinners, to the city of the living God, the celeſtial *Jeruſalem*.

I bleſs God I am thought worthy to ſuffer for his Name, and for ſo good a cauſe; and if I had a thouſand lives, I would willingly lay them down for the cauſe of my King, the Lords *Anointed*: the Scripture commands us to fear God and honour the King, to be ſubject to every Ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether to the King as ſupream, or to thoſe that are in authority under him: I have been always faithful to my Truſt: and though I have been moſt baſely accuſed for betraying *Leverpool*, yet I take God to witneſs it is a moſt falſe aſperſion, for I was then ſick in my bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, till the Officers and Souldiers had done it without my conſent, and then I was carried priſoner to Sr. *John Meldrum*; afterwards I came down into

the Country, and seeing I could not live quietly at home I was perswaded by Colonel *Forbes*, Colonel *Overton*, Lieut. Col. *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good friends to march in their Troops; which I did but with intention still to do my King the best service when occasion was and so I did; and I pray God to turn the heart of all Souldiers to their lawfull Soveraign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which till then it will never do, and though thou kill me, yet will I put my trust in thee wherefore I trust in God he will not fail me nor forsake me Then he took his Bible, and read divers Psalms fit for his own occasion and consolation, and then put up divers prayers some publiquely and some privately; the publick was this which follows;

His PRAYER.

WElcome blessed hour, the period of my Pilgrimage, the term of my Bondage, the end of my cares, the close of my sins the bound of my travels the Goal of my race. and the heaven of my hopes; I have fought a long fight in much weakness, I have finished my course though in great faintness and the Crown of my joyes, that through the strength of thy grace I have both kept the true faith, and have fought for my King; the Lords Anointed's cause without any wavering for which and in which I dye; I do willingly resigne my flesh, I despise the World and I defie the Devill who hath no part nor share in me; and now what is my hope Lord Jesus *is even in thee for I know that thou my Redeemer livest. and that thou wilt immediately receive my soul, and raise up my body also at the last day, and I shall see thee in my flesh with these eyes, and none other; And now,* O Lord, *let thy Spirit of comfort help mine infirmities, and make supplication for me with sighs and groans that cannot be expressed; I submit my self wholly to thy will, I commit my selfe to thee as my faithfull Redeemer,*

Who

who haſt bought it with thy moſt pretious blood. I confeſſe to all the World, I know no name under Heaven by which I may be ſaved but thine my Jeſu, my Saviour. I renounce all confidence in any merits ſave thine. I thankfully acknowledge thy bleſſings, I unfeined bewail all my ſins, I ſtedfaſtly believe all thy promiſes, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all earthly comfort, and I entirely long for thy coming. Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly; Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.

The private were to himſelfe, his hat being before his eyes: He put up divers ſhort ejaculations; As, *I know my Redeemer liveth, Father, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt Redeemed it, O God, thou God of truth, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit,* and many of the like, and ſo he yielded to death.

Here followeth the SPEECH of Cornet *Michael Blackburn* immediately before his death.

The *Speech of Cornet* Michael Blackburn, *immediately before his death*; Aug, 23, 1649.

It is expected I should say something, and indeed it is my desire to say something, and but a little.

I Am not a Gentleman by birth, but my Parents are of honest quality and condition, I was brought up in the Protestant Religion and in that I have lived and in that I now dye. I have some five or six years since engaged in this War, wherein I had no other end or intention but to do my King true and faithful service according to my duty and the d ctate of my Conscience I have not done so much service as I desired, but I have always been faithfull to him, and wish I could have done him more: and for his Son the King that now is, I wonder any man of this Kingdome should have the boldnesse or impudence to lift up his hand against him, to keep him from his Crown whereof he is Heir apparent, and as good right and Title to by his birth-right, as any man living hath of his Inheritance or Possession: I *pray God blesse him, forgive all my enemies; and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.*

The

The Speech of Col. Euſebius Andrews,

immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, *on Thurſday* Auguſt 22. 1650. *being attended on by* Dr. Swadling.

AS ſoon as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the block he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this block between me and Heaven; and to the Lieutenant of the Tower, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it. After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the rail, he ſpeaks to the people as followeth: Chriſtian *Gentlemen and People*, Your buſineſſe hither to day is to ſee a ſad ſpectacle, a man to be in a moment unnamed and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either unto himſelf, his friends, the *Common-Wealth*, or eſpecially to God; it ſeldome happens but upon very good cauſe. and though truly, if my generall known courſe of life were but enquired into, I may modeſtly ſay there is ſuch a moral honeſty upon it, as ſome may be ſo ſawcy as to expoſtulate why this great judgement is fallen upon me; but know, I am able to give them and my ſelf an anſwer, and out of this breaſt am able to give a better accounte of my judgement and Execution then my *Judges* themſelves or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for ſins long unrepented of, many Judgements withſtood, and mercies ſleighted: therefore God hath whipped me by his ſevere rod of correction, that he might not loſe me; I pray join with me in prayer, that it may not be a fruitleſs rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this ſtaffe I may be comforted, and received into glory. I am very confident by what I have heard ſince my ſentence, there

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is more exception made against proceedings against me then ever I made. My tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law is indisputable, and for me to make aquestion of it, I should shame my self and my discretion. In the strictnesse of that Law something is done by mé that is applicable to some clause therein, by which I stand condemnable: the means whereby I was brought under that interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given (by persons whom I pity*) so false, yet so positive that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to Legall justice, for equity lyeth in high-breasts.

As for my accusers or rather betrayers, I pity, and am sorrie for them. they have committed *Iudas* his crime but I wish and pray for them *Peters* tears, that by *Peters* repentance they may escape *Judas* his punishment, and I wish other people so happie; they may be taken up betimes before they have drunk up more blood of Christian men possibly then my self.

It is true there haue been severall Addresses made for mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more then upon my one sin. & seeing God sees it fit (having not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my death; which I am contented to do. I profess in the face of God particular malice to any one of State or Parliament to do them a bodily injury I had none.

For the Cause in which I had long waded, I must needs say my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no scruple upon my conscience; it was in principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I profesle. and and on principles of Religion, my Judgement satisfied, and conscience rectfied, that I have pursued those ways which I blesse God I find no blackneſſe upon my Conscience nor have I put in o my bed-roll of my sins.

I will not presume to decide such controversies; I desire God to honour himselfe in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I shal enjoy peace and plenty, beyond

all

yond all profeſſe here: in my converſation in the world I do not know where I have an enemie with cauſe, or that there is ſuch a perſon with whom I have to regret; but if there be any whom I cannot collect under the notion of Chriſtian men, I pardon them, as freely as if I had named them by name. I freely forgive them being in free peace with all the World, as I deſire God for Chriſts ſake to be at peace with me. For the buſineſſe of death, it is a ſid ſentence in it ſelf, if men conſult with fleſh and blood; But truly without boaſting, I ſay it, or if I do boaſt, I boaſt in the Lord, I have not to this minute had one conſultation with the fleſh about the bloud of the *Axe*, or one thought of the *Axe*, more then as my paſs port to Glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſſe to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ſent me hither to a place however of puniſhment, yet of ſome honour to die a death, ſomewhat worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my birth and qualification, and this courteſie of theirs much helped towards the pacification of my mind.

I ſhall deſire God that thoſe *Gentlemen* in that ſad beadrol to be tried by the High Court of *Juſtice*; that they may find that really there that is nominal in the Act, an High Court of *Juſtice*, a Court of high *Juſtice*, high in its righteouſneſs, though not in its ſeverity, *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I deſire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, nor till the moment of death for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of your prayers, to help thoſe *Angels* that are to convey my ſoul to *Heaven*, and I doubt not, but I ſhall ſee my Saviour, my gallant Maſter the King of *England*, and another Mr. whom I much honoured: my Lord *Capel*, hoping this day to ſee my Chriſt in the preſence of of the *Father*, the *King* in the preſence of him, my Lord *Capel* in the preſence of them all; and my ſelf there to rejoyce with all other *Saints* and *Angels* for evermore.

Dr. *Swadling*, (he being upon the Scaffold) ſpake as followeth to the *Colonell*.

You have this morning in the preſence of a few, given ſome account of your Relig on, and under general notions or words, have given an account of your faith, charity and repentance.

To thoſe on the Scaffold; If you pleaſe to hear the ſame queſtions asked here, you ſhall, that it may be a general teſtimony to you all, that he dyed in the favour of God.

To the Colonell. Now Sir, I being to deal with you; do you acknowledge that this ſtroke you are to ſuffer is a juſt puniſhment laid upon you by God for your former ſins?

Col. I dare not only not deny it, but dare not but confeſſe it. I have no opportunity of glorifying God anie more, then by taking ſhame upon my ſelf, and I have a reaſon of the Juſtice of God in my own boſome, which I have put to your boſome.

Dr. You acknowledge that you deſerve more then this ſtroke of the *Axe*, and that a far greater miſery is due to you, even the pains and torments of hell that the damned there endure?

Col. I know it is due in righteous Judgement, but I know again, I have a ſatisfaction made by my elder brother *Ieſus Chriſt*, and then I ſay it is not due, 'tis due from me, but quietted by his Righteouſneſſe.

Dr. Do you believe to be ſaved by that Mediator and none other?

Col. By that and only that, renouncing all ſecondarie cauſes whatſoever.

Dr. Are you trulie and unfainedlie ſorrie before God, as you appear to us, for all thoſe ſins that have brought you hither?

Col. I am ſorrie and can never be ſorrowfull enough and am ſorrie I can be no more ſorry.

Dr. If God ſhould by a miracle (not to put you to a vain hope) but if God ſhould as he did to *Ezekiah*, renew your daies, what life do you reſolve to lead hereafter?

Col.

Col. It is a queſtion of great length, and requires a great time to anſwer. Men in ſuch ſtraits would promiſe great things: but I would firſt call ſome friends to limit how farre I ſhould make a vow that I might not make a raſh one, and to offer the ſacrifice of fools; but a vow I would make, and by Gods helpendeavour to keep it.

Dr. Do you wiſh health and happineſſe upon all lawful Authorities and goverment?

Col. I do prize all obedience to lawfull government, and the adventuring againſt them is ſinfull, and I do not juſtifie my ſelfe, what ever my judgement be, for my thus venturing againſt the preſent Government; I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous, if it be it muſt ſtand.

Dr. Are you now in love and charity with all men? do you freely forgive them?

Col. With all the World freely, and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Dr. You have for ſome late years laid down your gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a man of note in thoſe parts where you had your reſidence. I have nothing to accuſe you for want of diligence in hindering the doing of injuries, yet poſſibly there might be ſome wrong done by your Officers, or thoſe under you to ſome particular men: If you had your Eſtate in your hands, would make reſtitution?

Col. The wrongs themſelves you bring to my mind are not great nor many; ſome things of no great moment, but ſuch as they were, my deſire is to make reſtitution, but have not wherewithal.

Dr. If you had ability, would you likewiſe leave a Legacy of thankfulneſſe to Almighty God, ſomething to his poor Servants; to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My will hath always been better then my ability that way.

Doctor. Sir, I ſhall trouble you very little further: I thank you for all thoſe Heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your company theſe three daies, and truly am very ſorry I muſt part with ſo heavenly

venly an assosiate. We have known one another heretofore, but never so Christian like before; I have rather been a Scholar to learn from you, then an instructer: I wish this Stage wherein you are made a spectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a School to all above you; for though I will not diminuth your sins, nor shall I conceal, nor hypocrize my own, for they are great ones betwixt God and my self, yet I think there is few here have a lighter load upon them then you have, if we consider things well. and I only wish them your repentance. and that measure of Faith God hath given you and that measure of courage you have attained from God, and that constant perseverance God hath crowned you with hitherto.

Col. His name be praised.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almost a quarter of an hour, after which, the Col. *turning himself again to the people, spake as followeth.*

One thing more I desire to be clear in. There lieth a common imputation upon the Cavaliers, that they are Papists, and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion: I am not a Papist, but renounce the *Pope* with all his dependencies when the distractions in RELIGION first sprang up, I might have been thought apt to turn from this Church to the *Roman*, but was utterly unsatisfied in their Doctrine, in point of faith, and very much as to their Discipline. The Religion which I profess, is that which passeth under the name of *Protestant* though that be rather a name of distinction, then properly essentiall to Religion, But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation, purged from all the errours of *Rome* in Reign of *Edward* the 6th. practized in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* and King *Charls*, that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick, though not the Roman Catholick Religion: in the profession and practice whereof, I will live and die; that for my Religion. Then he turned himself unto the Executioner, I have no reason to quarrel with thee, thou

thou art not the hand that throws the ſtone; I am not of ſuch an Eſtate to be liberal, but there is three pound for thee, which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack.

Exe. *Your hair to be turned up.* Co. *Shew me how to fit my ſelf upon the block. After which his doublet being off, and hair turned up, he turned to the people and prayed a good while; Before he laid down upon the Block, he ſpake unto the people,* viz.

There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath ſomething of pity in it; and may that mercy that is in your hearts fall into your boſomes, when you have need of it, and may you never find ſuch blocks of ſin to ſtand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beſeech you join with me in prayer. Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had ſome private conference with Dr. *Swadling*; then taking his leave of his Friends, Sheriffs and acquaintance, ſaluting them with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the Block, kneeling down, ſaid, let me try the Block, which he did: after caſting his eyes up, and fixing them very intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, when I ſay *Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul* Executioner do thine Office, then kiſſing the Axe he lay down, and with as much undaunted, yet Chriſtian courage as poſſibly could as be in man did he expoſe his throat to the fatal Axe, his life to the Executioner, and comended his ſoul into the hands of a merciful Creator, through the meritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer; ſaying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten off at one blow.

Sir *Henry Hides* Speech on the Scaffold near the Exchange, immediately before his Execution, *March* 4, 1650.

READER, *Take notice, that this Speech following is publiſhed in thoſe very Words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be ſome abrupt breaking off, and and other expreſſions not ſo ſmooth as might have been, yet I could not with honeſty alter a Word; and therefore have I tyed my ſelfe to his own Expreſſions, that I may neither abuſe the World, the dying man or my ſelf.*

THE Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of *London*, and alſo in his company one of his Servants, and Dr. *Hide*.

Sir *Hen. Hide*, I Am come to put in practice the Chriſtian Profeſſion, and as I owe a death to nature and ſin, now I pay it upon the ſcore of grace.

Dr. Hide, Bleſſed be God that hath enabled you to it; God hath and will enable you.

Sir *Henry Hide* Looking round on the people he ſaid a populous City, God bleſſe it, and graut they may live to his grace. Then turning to his Man, he ſaid, *John*, I pray now though I have not been a hood *Mr.* to you be you a good Servant, and accompany me with your prayers, and he p me both in body and mind *John*; have you my things about you *John*?

Then ſtaying for his Servants, they being not on the Scaffold, he ſaid, I had rather have my Servants then Strangers.

Then the Liuet. of the Tower coming to him, he ſaid

pray

pray Sir rejoyce with me; I thank Almighty God, I am brought hither to ſuffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower, I am glad you are ſo comforted; Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir *H. Hide*. If God call me to him, and I glorifie him it is well: I ſeeke only the company of your Chriſtian prayers.

Lieut of the Tower. I ſhall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chyrurgion coming (but not his Kinſman who was called for) he ſaid, my Kinſman is of no uſe, you may be uſefull about my body. I hope Mr. Sheriffe that you'l give order I may have a little more Room here.

Sheriffe Yes, Sr.

Sir *H. Hide*. And likewiſe for liberty of ſpeech, and that it will pleaſe you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of *England*) that I mny ſpeak my own ſence (I am now going into the preſence of Almighty God) a very little, without any diſturbance.

Sheriffe. Why Sir, you ſhall.

Sir *H. Hide*. *John, where is my Coffin?*

John. it is here Sir.

Sher. Sr It ſeems theſe men cannot be found.

Sir *H, Hide*. But if Mr. *Barret* could be found. After ſome ſtay Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriffe ſpake to him, ſaying

Sher. You have your liberty you know your time.

Sir *H. Hide*. VVhere is the place of ſtanding, that way or this way? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultery)

Sh. Which way you pleaſe; you may ſtand which way you will, but that way you muſt lye, (pointing towards the Exchange.)

Sir *H. Hide* I am indifferent: it is not the way to heaven where a man ſtands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir *H. Hide* That is no hinderance to my felicity

Dr. *Hide* God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his holy

Name; he will not forſake you that have put your truſt in him.

Sir H. Hide, I will open my heart and my mouth with thanſgiving (if this Gentleman pleaſe to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultery, he put off his Hat, and ſaid, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth peace, good will to men.*

CHriſtian People, I come hither to dye; I am brought hither to dye: and that I may dye Chriſtian-like, I humbly beſeech the aſſiſtance of your Chriſtian Prayers, that by the benefit of them my paſſage may be the more eaſie; yet becauſe men in that condition, which it pleaſed God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches in the diſcharge of my Duty towards God, I ſhall uſe a few words, and ſo diſpatch.

I pray all of you join with me to praiſe this Almighty God, to whom I render all hearty thanks: as for all his mercies, ſo in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither; That whereas I owe a duty to ſin and Nature, I can pay it upon the account of grace. And becauſe it is fit to render an account of that hope that is in me, I ſhall tell you, to the praiſe of Almighty God, that I born and have been bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion believing to be ſaved by the only merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his hat*) and whatſoever elſe is profeſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* authorized by Law; humbly beſeeching Almighty God to reſtore unto this Church her peace, Proſperity and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) Son. And now both my hope being confident, and my Faith perfected; there remains only Chriſtian Charity, Charity we carry into heaven, charity on Earth, & that I leave, beſeeching all whomſoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottome of my heart do them whomſoever; Bleſſing Almighty God for the happy advantage hee takes to bring

bring me nearer to heaven; bleſſing Almighty God that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been merciful to me before the foundation of the World, in my Saviour; ſo that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with ſuffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandement.

On this day ſeven night I was ſummon'd before that Juſtice, which condemned me on *Friday* laſt, praiſed be Almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the nearer to himſelf (*putting off his hat*) My Charge I preſume is publick, as my puniſhment is viſible: if there have been any thing in the management of m part, being unskilful, having diſcontinued my own Country many years, I ſhall beſeech the Chriſtian charity of all you my beloved Countrymen, to impute it unto the right part, the ignorance that is in this skilful way of managing: It was objected unto me there, that I had a vanity of delighting in ſtrange Tongue. I was beſt skill'd in the *Italian* (but free from that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Cuſtom here, or the Judges favour) have uſed that Language.

It was objected. That I did not ſo freely as a thorow-paced Cavalier, own my Maſter. I was told ſince I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing; for God forbid that I ſhould be aſhamed of ſerving ſo good, ſo pious, ſo juſt a Maſter (*putting off his hat*) for that I therein rejoyce; and I humbly beſeech Almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that hear me this day with thankfulneſs for it.

As to the buſineſs, that another conſtruction had been made and believed here, then what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weakneſs was in the management, that was mine: I was ſent to ſerve and protect, not to injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here underſtood, bleſſed be his holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) ſo thoſe

Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would ſeriouſly conſider, for they know it very well, the impoſſibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embaſſie objected againſt me, that my *Maſter* never honoured me withal I was never worthy of it, I was his *Meſſenger*, an *Internuncio* for the conſervation onely of his good Subjects, of all the *Merchants*, until ſuch time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Reſident, or to ſend any other; and they themſelves know that there was impoſſibility in me, (as I bleſs God there was an innocency in me) unto any ſuch intention to do them any harm; for my *Maſter* Commands were point-blank the contrary I was onely ſent for their good: as I never owned the Title, ſo the very Letters themſelves ſpeaking no other: I never did ſo much as think of any manner of Addreſs unto the *Grand Seignour*, but gave him the Letter from my *Maſter*; the reſt of the Engliſh Nation that were there preſent, may, when they pleaſe, affert ſo much. This I would inſert, that thoſe Gentlemen, as they have been loſers by the miſcarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it ſeems it is now in this Countrey, a Sin to be *Loyal*, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmleſs employment, not invading any, according to his juſt Maſters Order; for indeed I have been always bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the ſervice due from me to Almighty God, to ſerve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the preſent things in *England*, for were I as I ſpake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made black; it were impoſſible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging in that imployment: but I bleſs God for his infinite mercy in Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the beſt Phyſick for the curing of my Soul, and thoſe that have done it, have no more power

in

is then that of my body. I leave nothing behind me but that I am willing to part withal, all that I am going to is deſireable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a total Denial of my ſelf, & that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the bleſſed aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit, I deſire Almighty God in the abundance of the bowels of his mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, not onely to forgive every Enemie, (if any ſuch be in the World, here or whereſoever) but to bring him into his boſome ſo much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cauſe were juſt or unjuſt, have wiſhed me any manner of evil, for I take him to be the happy inſtrument of bringing me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I bleſs Almighty God: (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *ſpeaking to ſome that preſt upon him*) I ſhould never do it but to give ſatisfaction to all charitable hearts. I have been troubleſome,

Sheriff. *You have your liberty to ſpeak more, if you pleaſe.*

Sir Henry Hide. But as to that part, Maſter Sheriff, that did concern the Denial (as it was affirmed my Maſter *Attorny* General) of my Maſters imployment. Truly landing at *Whitehall*, I told that Council, there was juſt Commiſſions to an old Officer by the bleſſing of God, I have by me; and I have other good things that God hath bleſſed me withal, more then all the good Chriſtians in the world, that are not the *Grand Seigniour's* Slaves; And we that are *Merchants* abroad, we allow our ſelves any ſufferance that may conduce to our own ſafety, inlargement of Trade, or preſervation of what is ours. Why I had by the grace of my gracious Maſter a confirmation of my old Commiſſion of *Conſulage* in *Greece*: But as to the Embaſſie, no more then my Credential Letters did ſpeak, nor no more then that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in thoſe places which is a Meſſenger between the one and the other KING: They both unhappily died of ſeveral deaths, and both violent too. And it is a cuſtome

not unknown to you, Master Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practice in the World, that Princes of course, for the continuation of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the transaction of those publick expressions of reciprocal Affection may be performed; but for Embassie, God forbid I should own it, I never had it, however they have used it as the happy means to bring me to God this day. I beseech God in the bowels of my Saviour, to forgive those people that hath done it, I owe them no harm, so God pay them whom with all the good of this, and an everlasting life.

As for power, I have been long absent here in *England*, I meddle with none: Sufficient to me is Gods grace to the salvation of my soul.

I have been alwayes fearful of offending Almighty God, according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, and new Ways, (that I must say Master Sheriff to you, and all others that hear me, I cannot dispense with my Conscience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your permission, *Master* Sheriff) to pour out my soul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is straitned.) If I knew wherein to give any satisfaction to any thing whatsoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my soul, and forgiveness is clear, as I am now going to receive happiness at the hand of my Saviour: But if I thought it were satisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bendish*, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Mr. Sheriff to pay that Obedience willingly; that Debt I owe to Nature; to pay it upon the score of a Subject, because Conscience within me, tels me not, that for the intentions of serving my Prince, that I could deserve such a Death, though ten thousand times more other ways

Dr. *Hide. There was some suspition that you might impart the way you were upon to some of those servants that were with you.*

Sir *H. Hide.* I humbly thank you for remembering me of it; and I am here of the *Turky* Company this day,

day, or any Friend of theirs, I ſhall deſire them from a dying Man, to take this truth, That neither my brother my innocent brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their diſturbance; it was my own buſineſs, whatſoever hath been done, that hath been to evil, or loſs, though I deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuſe any man, nor excuſe my ſelf, but I praiſe God for all his deliverances: yet I know I ſhall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of juſtice, in not revolting any of my Company in any thing of miſchief. I cannot anſwer Objections; I finde a man may be in *Turkey*, or in any place, all the *World* over, where they will give than Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Bleſſed be Almighty God that hath called me to the knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beſeech you all, whatſoever you are, that you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul my be aſſiſted within me, in that paſſage to my Saviour whither I am going. I am weak of body, I have diſcontinued long from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have deſired to ſerve God according to his Commandements after the Old way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him, and have had my pardon ſealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whatſoever, whether I have offended them or no: I Truly forgive them, and have beſought Almighty God to pour his bleſſings upon them. I accuſe no man I find fault nor quarrel with with no man, neither with the perſons that were e occaſions, they were but the inſtruments; ne r at the perſons condemning I accept thankfully Sentence of Death upon my ſelf, and I beſeech mighty God, that I may be the laſt that may ſuffer on this ſcore, or upon any other.

Maſter Sheriff. If there be any thing where I can give any other ſatisfaction to any Chriſtian, whatſo-

ever,

ever, in any kinde, as I ſpake in generall, I bleſs God Almighty from my own Heart, now ſo aſſiſted by the eſpecial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghoſt: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having ſerved God ſo well in my life) ſerviceable to the Church of God, of Chriſt, and the full ſatisfaction of any whatſoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my extaſies to Heaven, there is that glory I am going to. I beſeech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bleſs his holy Name; as for all, as for Jeſus Chriſt, and in him all things, ſo particularly for this, that he hath thought me unworthy to bring me hither for my faithfulneſs to my *Maſter*, that is the moſt pious and moſt juſt Prince in all the world. My Mr. hath ſuffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his ſervice, the fault is onely mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the buſineſs, but by the inſtance of the Merchants; I delivered my Letters, and there they lye: To other things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perſeverance in that Chriſtian Religion; in that loyalty to my Prince; in that love to all the World, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Maſter Sheriff, that I may give ſatisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my puniſhment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many ways I have been taken taken up. Truly I am bound to all that ſee me, and many thouſands more ſince I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had ſtrange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his Grace into their own Boſoms. And God in particular bleſs that honourable Lady; who was the occaſion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of thoſe glorious and eternal Meſſages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy: being thankful to all thoſe that know me and know me

not,

not, for ſince I am come hither whereas I might have received prejudice, in reſpect to my Loyalty (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received curteſie, the Lord repay them. I thank God I am otherwiſe bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodied into my Religion; and beſides the great deſires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the World; but that the World might ſee that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submiſſion to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it; but I beſeech Almighty God to bleſs and proſper all people whatſoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, ſo is my health. I have forced my ſelf in this Diſcourſe to give that ſatisfaction which I could. And I beſeech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am to anſwer it; and I beſeech you joyn with me in your Chriſtian Prayers, that I may have a paſſage whether I am now going to, give an account, not onely of every deed, but of every word.

Then turning to his Man, he ſaid,

Sir Henry Hide. *Jhon*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him he ſaid.

Sir Henry Hide. Honeſt Friend I have no quarrel with you, you are the welcom inſtrument, do your work, onely let me ſee the place, that I may fit my ſelf, for I have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You ſhall when you have prayed; if you pleaſe to pray firſt.

Sir Henry Hide, I deſire to ſee the Block, I can pray afterwards, Here Mr. Executioner is that mony that is left; here is four pounds for you.

Then being ſhewed the block, he kiſſed it ſaying,

Sir H. Hide. It is unworthy for me to put my head where my Maſters was, Bleſſed be God, Bleſſed be his holy Name (*putting off his hat*) I have an infirmity in my body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room.

Sheriff. Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir H. Hide. I have I thank Almighty God) done

thoſe

those Christian Offices belonging to me, at home, I come hither only to dye.

Then kneeling down, he said the Lords Prayer,

Then having prayed a short space, he stood up, and turning to the Executioner, said,

Sir H. *Hide*. Honest Friend, I pray give me direction what I am to do. and do your Office; you will cure all diseases presently; pray direct me,

Then the Executioner going to spread the Scarfe over the Block; he said

Sir H. *Hide*. Put it not on now, but by and by.

D. *Hide*. God Almighty strengthen you,

S. H. *Hide* God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin Cap, he thought he had been taken of it off; whereupon he said,

Sir H. *Hide*. Must I have my black Cap off, it is very cold: all these diseases will be cured the Lord be thanked,

Then going to lye down, his man not helping him, he said

Sr. H. *Hide*. *John*, Help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell you I could neither rise or fall, lay me down, and lift me up again, *John*,

Then rising again upon his knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Axe in his hand.

Sir *H.* Hide. Pray Sir give me the Axe.

And then taking the Axe in his hand, he kissed it and returned it to the Executioner again, saying

Sir H. *Hide*. I will only say, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul* and when I lift up my right hand, do your work, And then lying downe again, after a little space he lift up his right hand, and the Executioner at one stroke severed his head from his body.

The *Earl of* Derby *having all along the Warres ſerved the King upon the advance of his preſent Majeſty to* VVorceſter, *Lands in* Lancaſhire *from the Iſle of* Man, *and oppoſeth Colonell* Lilburn *at* VViggon, *there defeated, flies to* VVorceſter, *and after that fatall battell is purſued and taken, and by a Sentence of a Councill of Warre, is Lebeaded at* Bolton 1651.

FOr a pretended revenge of the bloud of thoſe men that were killed in the Storming of *Bolton* by Prince *Rupert*, after they had refuſed Conditions offered them, it being noted for a preciſe Town; and to colloyne with that party: this noble Perſon, who moſt cordially helpt the King before, and now

now adventured all upon this hazzard of his March from *Scotland*, being onely chief perſon of account of the *Engliſh* that were to his aſſiſtance, was after his flight from *Worceſter*, the next day after being the 4*th*. of *September*, were taken by the Parliaments Horſe as *Nupert*, and moſt illegally and bardarouſly by a private Councill of War held at *Cheſter*, though he deſired to be heard at *Weſtminſter*, Sentenced (by Order from the Council of State) to be beheaded at *Bolton*, which to the grief and lamentation of the Inhabitants of that Town, wo had continually received favours from the Noble Earl and his Anceſtors, was accordingly Executed on *Wedneſday* being the 15. of *October*. 1651.

Here followeth the SPEECH of *JAMES* Earl of *Derby* immediately before his Execution at *Bolton*

A true Copy of the Speech of the Right Honourable Iames *Earl of* Derby *upon the Scaffold at* Bolton *in* Lancashire, *together with his Deportment and Prayer before his death, on* Wednesday *the* 15 *day of* October 1651.

THe Earl of *Derby* (according to the order of the Court Marshal held at *Chester*, by which he was sentenced to dye at *Bolton* in *Lancashier*) was brought to that Town with a Guard of Horse and Foot of Col. Jones's commanded by on *Southly*, who received his Order from Col. *Robert Duckenfield*, betwixt 12. and 1. of the Clock on VVednesday the 15 of *October*, the people weeping, praying and bewayling him all the way from the prison at *Chester*, to the place of his death.

He was brought to a house in the Town near the Crosse, where the Scaffold was raised, and as he passed by, said (*VENIO DOMINE*) *I am prepared to fulfill thy will, O my God; this Scaffold must be my Cross; blessed Saviour, I take it up willingly and follow thee.*) From thence going into a Chamber with some friends and servants, he was advertised by the Commander in chief that he had till three of the Clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the people of the Town and Country generally refusing to carry so much as a planck, or strike a nail, or to lend any assistance to that work, their cry being generally in the streets, *O sad day, O wofull day! shall the good*

Earl

Earl of Derby *dye here?* many ſad loſſes have we had in this VVar, but none like unto this; for now the Ancient Honour of our Country muſt ſuffer here: And to add to his trouble, moſt of the Timber that built the Scaffold, was of the ruins of *Latham*-houſe; but nothing could alter his Lordſhips relation and courage: for with a ſtedfaſt compoſed countenance, and a cheerful, he called the company which were preſent to prayers with him, wherein he ſhewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his ſins be merciful to his Soul; and be gracious to this Land, in reſtoring the *King*, Law and *Liberty*; and that he would be a *Husband* to his *Wife*, a *Father* to his *Children*, and a *Friend* to all thoſe that ſuffered by his *Loſſe*, or that had been Friend to him.

Riſing from prayer, he ſate down with a very pleaſing countenance, and aſſured the ſtanders by, that God had heard his prayes, which the bleſſed Spirit of God witneſsed unto him, in the preſent Comforts he now felt in his Soul. Then he entred into a diſcourſe of his life, and beſeecht God to forgive him the dayes and time he had miſ-ſpent, and ſaid it was his Comfort, that although he had not walked ſo circumſpectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a ſenſe of his ſins, and a tender reſpect to all the Services, Servants and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had ſtrengthened and comforted him againſt all the terrours of death.

After theſe and ſome other words to this purpoſe, he deſired his friends and the people by, to pray with him again; which when he had ended, riſing from his knees, he appeard fully ſatisfied of gracious return to his prayers, and never after ſhewed any ſadneſs in his countenance.

His next buſineſs was with his Son the Lord *Strange*, whom he publickly charged to be *dutiful* to his *ſad Mother*, *affectionate* to his diſtreſſed *Brothers* and *Siſters*, and *ſtudious* of the Peace of his *Country*: But eſpecially (ſaid he) *Sons, I charge you upon my Bleſſing, and upon the Bleſſings you expect from God to be ever dutiful to your*

diſtreſſed Mother, *ever obedient to her commands and ever tender how in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a perſon well known to the moſt eminent Perſonages of* England, France, Germany & Holland, *noted for Piety, Prudence and all honourable Vertues, and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will encreaſe in favour with God and men.*

Then he deſired to be private in the room himſelf; where he was obſerved to be about an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and ſighs before his God: Then when he called the company in again, his eyes witneſſed to us, that he had abundantly mixed *Tears* with his *Prayers*; he told us that he was very willing to leave the World, being aſſured by the Teſtimony of Gods Spirit, that he ſhould be carried from Trouble, to Reſt and Peace, from ſorrow to Joy, from Life to Death, and that Death had no other bitterneſs in it to him, but that it took him him from his dear Wife and Children; whom he *humbly* commended to the Protection and Providence of a better Husband, and a better Father; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who ſat in the ſeat of Authority, would make proviſion for them, hoping that his death might ſatisfie all thoſe who ſought his life, whom he freely forgave, and deſired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his leave of him, and bleſſed him; which indeed would have grieved any ones heart (though never ſo hardened) to ſee the parting of him now with his Son, and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Katharine*, and the Lady *Amely* Stanley, upon the road betwixt *Cheſter* and *Bolton* the day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the Scaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cryed aloud, to whom his Lordſhip with a cheerfull countenance, and courteous humbleneſs ſaid *Good people, I thank you, and I beſeech you ſtill pray for me, and our bleſſed God return your prayers back into your own boſomes: The God of Mercies bleſs you, the Son of God eſtabliſh you in righteouſneſs and the Holy Ghoſt fill you with all comforts*——Coming near

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the Scaffold, he looked up and ſaid, God, I *am not afraid to go up here, though I am to dye there; there are but theſe few ſteps to my eternity*: Then kiſſing the ladder he went up and ſaluted the people, he walked a turn or two upon Scaffold, and went to the Eaſt end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his hat again and ſaluted the people with a cheerful countenance, ſaid——I am come by the will of my heavenly Father to dye in this place, and I thank God I do with willingneſs and readineſs ſubmit to his moſt bleſſed will.

'Tis a place I deſired to ſee when I was laſt in the Country, both for the mutual obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, and alſo for your particular reſpects to me, whom I have underſtood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that particularly, I killed one *Bootle* here in cold blood: I doubt not but there are here many men preſent, both that day this Town was taken and divers other times during this war, that can juſtifie I preſerv'd many lives; but I know there is not any *one preſent* that can lay the *blood* of any *man* whatſoever to *my charge*, unleſs that might caſually happen in the fury and heat of a Battel; and why I dye in this Town, I know not, unleſs it be to perſwade the Nation that I fall a ſacrifice for that blood which ſome ſaid I ſhed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had alſo cleared my ſelf before my Grand Judges at *Weſtminſter*, had they pleaſed to hear me, before they had deſtroyed me; that report being haſtily brought up among them, by ſome that *I* hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my crime (as ſome are pleaſed to term it) which was objected againſt me by the Council of War (for *Bootle*'s death, was never mentioned againſt me there, that being onely ſecretly uſed to raiſe a prejudice againſt me in the judgements of ſuch as did not know me) my crime (I ſay) though I hope it deſerves a far better name, was, that I came into my own Country with my own lawful King; I

came in obedience to his Majesties call, whom both by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this Land, I conceived my self obliged to obey, and according to the *Protestation* I took in Parliament in the time of that blessed Prince his Father; so if it be my crime, I here confess it again before God, Angels and Men, *that I love Monarchy as the best Government*, and I die with Love and Honour: and for the Love and Honour I bear to my *Master* that now is, *Charls* the second of that name, *whom I my self in this Country proclaimed King*, the Lord bless and preserve him, and incline the hearts of those that have power in this Nation, to accept him to his Fathers Throne with Honour and Peace, for certainly as I believe, this Nation will never be well contented, never throughly happy without a King, so I believe also, that King *Charles* the second, our now lawful King were a stranger to this crown, were the most fit, and most accomplisht Prince that this day lives, to take the government of this people: his admirable Piety, Virtue, Justice, great Valour and Discretion, far above so few years, doth now make him in all places he comes highly beloved, and will hereafter make him honourable among all Nations, and I wish the people of this Nation so much happiness (when my eyes are closed) that he may peaceably be receiv'd to the enjoyment of his just right, and then they shall never want their just rights, which till then, they will always want.

As for my being in arms in the beginning of this war, I profess here in the presence of my God, before whom within a few minutes I must make an account for this profession, I only sought for peace, and setling the late King my Master in his just rights, and the maintenance of the laws of this Land, and that I had no other design, intent or purpose for my then taking up arms: and for this last engagement, I profess here again in the presence of the same God, that I did it for the restoring of my lawful Soveraign into that Throne out of which his Father was most unchristianly and barbarously taken by the most unjust sentence of a pretended Court of Justice, and himself against Law

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and diſpoſeſt of; and this was all my reaſon. For a ſtate or quality, I wanted not a ſufficient competency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either for by the favour of the Kings Predeceſſors, my family was raiſed to a condition well known in this Country and now is well known, that by his enemies I am adjudged to dye, and that by *new and monſtrous Laws*, as making me an enemy to my Country; as a Trayter to the Laws, for endeavouring to preſerve the Laws: But, *Oh! God give me grace to conſider him, who ſuffered ſuch contradictions of ſinners, and O my God, aſſert the King to his Fathers Throne, aſſert the Laws to their former honour, and reſtore thy own Religion in its purity, that all theſe ſhadows and falſe pretences of Religion may vaniſh away, and our childrens poſterities may ſerve thee in ſpirit and in truth.*

Good friends. I dye for the * *King*, the Laws of the Land, and the Proteſtant Religion maintained in the Church of *England* all which as I was ready to maintain with my life. ſo I cheerfully ſuffer for them in this welcome death

* *At which words King & Laws, a Troper ſaid aloud, we will neither have King Lord, nor Laws: and upon a ſudden the Souldiers being either ſurprized with fear at a ſtrange noiſe that was heard, or elſe falling into mutiny, preſently fell into tumult, riding up and down the ſtreets, cutting and ſlaſhing the people, ſome being killed and many wounded; his Lordſhip looking upon this ſad ſpectacle, ſaid thus, Gentlemen it troubles me more then my own death, that others are hurt and (I fear) dye for me; I beſeech you ſtay your hands, I flye not, you purſue not me, and here are none to purſue you. But being interrupted in his ſpeech, and not permitted to go on any further (for which the Officers were much troubled) he turned aſide to his ſervant, and gave him the Speech into his hand, ſaying I will ſpeak to my God, whom I know will hear me, and when I am dead, let the World know what I would have ſaid. Here his Lordſhip was interrupted: but it was as follows, in his Copy under his Hand.*

I am sentenced to death by a Councill of VVar, after quarter for life, and assurance of honourable and sage usage by Captain *Edge*, I had reason to have expected the Councill would have justified my Plea, which hath been *Ancient* Honourable, Sacred and Unviolable, untill this time that I am made the first suffering *President*; for I dare affirm it, that never Gentleman before in any Chhristian Nation was adjudged to death by a Councill of War after quarter given, I am the first, and I pray God may be the last *Precedent* in this case: I must dye, and I thank *God I* am ready for it: Death would now be my choice, had I the whole world in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me that I much care for. but my King, my VVife, my Children, my *Friends*, whom (I trust) the enever failing mercies of my God, will provide for: I brseech God shew mercy to those who neither had mercy or justice for me; my blessed *Saviour* taught me by his Example and Command, both to pray for my enemies, and to forgive my enemies: I forgive them freely, even those that contrived my ruine, and pursued me to death; I thank God, I never personally offended them to my knowledge in my life, & let me not offend against them at my death; I forgive them freely, and pray God for Christs sake to forgive them truly.

Of my faith and Religion, I shall not (I hope) need to say much, herein I hope my enemies (if now I have any) will speak for me. I professe my faith to be in God onely, from whom I look for my salvation, through the precious merits and sufferings of my blessed Jesus Christ, which merits and sufferings are applyed to my soul, by the blessed Spirit of comfort, the Spirit of God by whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer.

I dye a dutiful son to the Church of *England*, as it was establisht in that blessed Prince my late masters Reign, which all men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the most pure and agreeable to the VVord of God, and primitive Government of any Church within 12 or 1300 years since Christ & which

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to my great comfort) I left eſtabliſhed in the *Iſle of Man*; God preſerve it there, and reſtore it to this Nation.

And O bleſſed God: I magnifie thy Name, that thou gaveſt me the happineſs and mercy to be born in a *Chriſtian* Nation, and in a Nation where thy truth was profeſſed in purity: With honour to thy name, and comfort to thy people, I aſcribe the comforts of thy Holy Spirit which I feel in my boſome, to the Miniſtry of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed unto me in thy *Church*, and made effectual by the operation of the ſame bleſſed Spirit. In this Faith, good people, I have lived, and in this I dye, pray for me I beſeech you, and the God of mercies hear your prayers and my my prayers, for mine and your ſalvation.

Preſently after the tumult was over, his Lordſhip called for the Headſman, and asked to ſee the Ax, and taking it in his hand ſaid, *Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am ſure it cannot hurt me*; and then kiſſing it ſaid, *Methinks this is as a Wedding Ring, which is a ſign I am to leave all the World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour.* Then putting his hand in his pocket, ſaid to the Headſman, *Here Friend, take theſe two pieces, all that I have, thou muſt be my Prieſt, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually*; Then handling the rough furr'd coat the Headſman had on, *This* (ſaies he) *will be troubleſome to thee; I pray thee put it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my fleſh, that is now ſo heavy for my ſoul*, then ſome of the ſtanders by bid the Headſman kneel, and ask his Lordſhip pardon? but he did not, but was ſurly and crabbed: but his *Lordſhip* ſaid, *Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not ask, and God forgive thee alſo*: Then turning up his eyes to Heaven ſaid aloud, *How long Lord? how long?* then gently paſſing over the *Scaffold*, and ſeeing one of his *Chaplains* on horſeback among the people, *Good Sir* (ſaid he) *pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own boſome, and I pray remember me kneeling to your Brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine.*

Speaks again.

Then turning towards his Coffin, *Thou art* (said he) *my bridal Chamber, in thee I shall rest without a guard, and sleep without Souldiers.*

Then looking towards the block, he asked if all were ready, *That* (said he) *methinks it is very low, and yet there is but one step betwixt that and heaven*; then turning his eyes to the people, he saluted them, and desired again their prayers; then said, *I see your tears, and hear your sighs and groans, and prayers; the God of Heaven hear and grant your supplications for me, and mine for you, and the Mediation of Christ Jesus for us all.*

Here his Lordship caused the block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church saying, *Whilst I am here, I will look towards the holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes, I shall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the shadow of thy wings shall be my rest till this calamity be over past*; then he pulled off his blew garter, and sent it to his Son, and pulling off his doublet, with a very religious cheerfulness he said, *I come, Lord Jesus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever*; upon this he said, *Pray tell me how must I lye, I have been called a bloody man, yet truely I never yet had that severe curtosity to see any man put to death in peace*; then laying himself down on the block, after a few minutes he rose again, and caused the block to be a little removed; then said to the Heads-man, *Friend, remember what I said to thee*: *and be no more afraid to strike then I to dye*; and when I *put up my hand, do thy work*; so looking round about upon his friends and the people, he said, *The Lord bless you all, and once more pray for me and with me*; at which words he kneeled down and prayed privately within himself, with great sighings, about half a quarter of an hour, concluding with the Lords Prayer; then rising up again, he said (smilingly) *My soul is now at rest and so shall my body be immediately. The Lord bless my King, and restore him to his right in this Kingdom, and the Lord bless this Kingdom, and restore them to their rights in their King, that he and they may joyn hand in hand to settle truth and peace; and the Lord bless this Country, and this Town,*

and

and this People. The Lord *comfort my ſad wife and children, and reward all my friends with peace and happineſſe, both here and hereafter, and the* Lord *forgive them who were the cauſe and authors of this ſad end and unjuſt death, for ſo it is as to mankind; though before God I deſerve much worſe, but I hope my ſins are all bathed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt.*

So having his neck upon the block, and his arms ſtretcht out, he ſaid theſe words.

Bleſſed be Gods glorious Name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory, Amen, Amen.

At which words, he gave the Heads-man the ſign; but he either not obſerving it, or not being ready, ſtayed too long, ſo that his Lordſhip roſe up again, ſaying, VVhy do you keep me from my Saviour? what have I done, that I dye not, and that I may live with him! Once more I wil lay down my ſelf in peace, and ſo take my everlaſting reſt. Then ſaying, *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly.* He ſtretched out his arms and gave the ſign, repeating the ſame words

Bleſſed be Gods glorious name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with glory, Amen, Amen.

Then lifting up his hand, the Executioner did his work at one blow; all the people weeping and crying, with all expreſſions of grief and lamentation.

When the Corps were carried off the Scaffold, they carried them to the houſe in the Town, where was thrown into his Coffin in a piece of paper theſe two lines.

Vpon *JAMES* Earl of *DERBY*.

Bounty, Wit, Courage, *all* (*here*) *in one lye dead,*
A Stanleys *hand*, Veres *heart*, *and* Cecil's *head.*

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Reſolved by the Court upon the Court.

That *James* Earl of *Derby* is guilty of the breach of the Act of the 12 *of Auguſt*, 1651. laſt paſt, entituled *An Act probibiting correſpondence with* Charles Stuart or his party, and ſo of High-Treaſon againſt the Common-VVealth of *England*, and is therefore worthy of death.

Reſolved by the Court.

That the ſaid *James* Earl of *Derby* is a Traytor to the Common-VVealth of *England*, and an abettor, encourager and aſſiſter of the declared Traytors and enemies thereof, and ſhall be put to death by ſevering his head from his body, at the Market place in the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, upon *Wedneſday* the 15 of this inſtant *October*, about the hour of one of the Clock the ſame day.

The HISTORY of Colonell *Euſebius Andrews*.

Euſebius Andrews a Colonell in the Kings Army, the War being ended, betakes himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Law, wherein he was bred. His Worth and Eminent Loyaltie render him Obnoxious to the deſigns of the State againſt him. Their Engines, Major Bernards (*formerly an Officer under him*) Smith *and others betray him. He is beheaded by the Sentence of their High Court of Juſtice.* Bernards *not long after is hanged for* Robbing *and* Burglary.

OF all thoſe ways of deſtruction, wherein the Devill leads Mankind to the ruine of one another, none is more pernicious then the crooked hidden path of Treachery, where as ſecurely as ſecretly he placeth his ambuſhes of death. The Serpent is here in his proper poſture, in his windings and inſinuations, compaſſing his prey within his killing circles, out of which no charms of mercy or compaſſion can relieve the unwary innocent. Thus is it when under the deſigns of friendſhip, and ſome indeared familiarity, which any vertue hath cemented, malice obtrudes it ſelf, and by all Artifice, corruption of perſons, to be Agents and inſtruments of her cruelty, effects and brings to paſſe her moſt ſcelerate and delectable practices and murders, a very exemplary inſtance, whereof we may ſee in this enſuing doleful Tragedy,

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during the late unnatural war between his Majesty and the Parliament at *Westminster*, among many right Noble and loyal Gentlemen, whose obeysance and duty animated them to the peril and danger of the war; taking from it repose of Arts and studies, to which so propictuously nature had inclined them, and in which they had made so eminent a proficiency. This Gentleman known by the name and stile of *Eusebius Andrews* of *Grayes Inne* Esquire a Barrester at Law, was most conspicuous and remarkeable, with what singular valour, prudence and integrity he served that most incomparable Prince throughout the whole time of that bloody Contest; his and his most just causes Adversaries, too well remembred. Nothing therefore should be spoken of it here more but onely to give you notice, that having by his merit ascended to the Dignity and Command of a Collonel under his *Majesty*, he was assisted by one *Bernards* as his *Major* in the Regiment, who also gave proof of courage and honesty sufficient during the service, which maintained and preserved a good correspondency afterwards between them; till *Money* and a loose necessitous life, betrayed *Bernards* to the worst of Treasons proving false at one time to his Friend and Soveraign. It must not be omitted, both for the honour of Collonel *Andrews* and the better light to the reasons inducing the Council of state then to fasten on him, that he was preferred by the King formerly to be Clark of the Crown in *Ireland*, gnd after was invited by my Lord *Capel* (that glorious loyal *Martyr*) to be Secretary towards the conclusion of the war, when that Noble man was chief Counsellour to the Prince of *Wales*, his now Majesty whereby he was admitted into a nearness, and communication of those Counsels and affairs which related to the King: which great trust as he wisely and gallanty discharged to his glory, to the eximiousness of his place and person altered the jealousie and suspition of the state on him to his ruine. This is enough to be said of him here without repeating him from his Originals (Honou-

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rable every way) for we write not by life but his death.

That was compaſſed on this manner, *Barnards* the war ended as was ſaid before living in a moſt debaucht lewd courſe of life; and being reduced to a pinching fortune, was ſoon light upon and taken up by the Parliament flies thoſe Trapans or ſpirits of ſtate, then employed every where for gaining intelligence. Theſe men eaſily with money and future promiſes drew over *Barnards* to be a ſpy and a ſetter, upon the Royal party, and becauſe of his relation to the Collonel, the juſt plot was laid againſt; the contrivance whereof was as followeth.

That no ſuſpition might enter into the minde of the Collonel as it might if on a ſuddain, they had ſtarted the deſign, *Barnards* long before frequents his company venting his diſcontents againſt the power, then in being to which the Collonel (as his judgement byaſſed him) lent no unwilling ear.

This opening the way to a cloſer overture, wherein *Barnards* intimated that a general deſign was on foot for the reſtoring his Majeſty (that now is) and that moſt of the Nobility were privy and partakers in it; and that indeed it lackt nothing but ſo able a perſon as himſelf to manage the buſineſs to a ripeneſs; to that purpoſe he then nominated many great perſons, among whom as chief was Sir *John Gell* a perſon that had in the war been very active againſt the King. The concluſion of that meeting was, that by ſubſcription the deſign ſhou'd be carried on, and that when the mony and arms agreed on were ready the enterſure ſhould be put in execution, and there withal that Province was laid upon the Collonel (a meeting being afterwards contrived between him and the ſecond Sir *John*) to get his ſubſcription, which Sir *John* refuſed to do but ſaid he would at any time be ready to do the King his uttermoſt ſervice when preſent, and further would not be drawn to ſay,

VVhen

Then they ſee they could not by him entrap Sir *John*, he with others came and diſpatch of their buſineſs, told him; that if he had no more haſte the buſineſs would be done without him and that he the ſaid *Barnards* would go preſently over to the King, and acquaint him what forwardneſs his affairs were, in if not neglected, which would found little to his honour.

The next day after they preſſed him again told him, at the three Cranes by the *Savoy*, whereby they met with *Smith* and others that 200 *l.* was ready for a preſent occaſion they had projected themſelves, and that the *Buckingham-ſhire* and *Kentiſh* Gentlemen were in a readineſs expecting what would be done, whereupon it was adviſed; there coming then a Proclamation out to Command all Cavaliers to depart *London* and twenty miles beyond, for him to go for *Graveſend* (the Collonel intending there to go into *Norfolk* to ſome Clients, whoſe buſineſs he had undertaken for ſetling and conveying of eſtates if according to promiſe of the mony, which they had failed in twice, neither it nor the Gentlemen above ſaid ſhould meet him) where a randezvous was appointed. As ſoon as he came thither he was ſeized on by a Troop of Horſe ſent from *London* to the very place he lodged in, and preſently brought before a Committee of Examinators where finding he was betrayed from the very firſt Commencement of the deſign he thought it moſt generous not to deny it, uſing then theſe ſentences.

Quos

Quos perdi vult Jupiter *hos prius dementat*

More uſually this

Fiat voluntas Dei *modo ruina mea,*

WHich He always ſubſcribed to his Examination and to his Pleas, which were very learned: and whereby he put the Authority and Juriſdiction to a puzzle, but they over-ruled him with their power, and finally Sentenced him to Death, by vertue and colour of a pretended Act, Againſt holding and maintaining a Correſpondence with the KING, *Which accordingly was Executed, by Beheading him on* Tower-Hill.

Where He ſpake as Followeth,

AS ſoon as he came upon the Scaffold, kiſſing the Block, he ſaid, I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven. And to the Lieutenant of the Tower, I hope I ſhall neither tire in my way, nor go out of it.

After a little while, turning to the rail of the Scaffold he ſpake thus

Chriſtian Gentlemen and people,

YOur buſineſſe hither to day is to ſee a ſad Spectacle a Man in a moment un-named and cut off in the prime of his years, taken from further opportunities of doing good either to himſelfe, his friends, or the Com-

mon

mon-Wealth, or especially to God it seldom happens, but upon very good cause. And truly if my general course of life were but enquired into I may modestly say, there is such a moral honesty upon it as some many be so sawcy as to expostulate this great judgement is fallen upon me; but know I am able to give a better account of my judgement and execution then my judges themselves or you are able to give; It is Gods wrath upon me for sins long unrepented of many judgements withstood and mercies slighted, therefore God hath whipped me by his sore rod of Correction, that he might not lose me. I pray joyn with with me in prayer that it may not be a fruitless rod, that when by this rod I have laid down my life, by this staff I may be comforted and received into glory. By what I have heard since my sentence there are more exceptions made against proceedings against me then ever I made; my Tryers had a Law, and the value of that Law, is indisputable and for me to make a question of it I should shame my self and my discretion. In the strictness of that Law something is done by me that is applicable to some clause therein for which I stand condemnable; the means whereby I was brought under the interpretation of that which was not in my self intended maliciously, being testimony given (by persons whom I pity) so false yet so positive that I cannot condemn my Judges for passing sentence against me according to legal justice, for equity lyeth in higher breasts.

As for my accusers or master betrayers I pity and am sorry for them they have committed Judas his crime but I wish and pray for them *Peters* tears, that by *Peters* repentance they may escape Judas his punishment, and I wish other people so happy they may be taken up betimes before they had drunk up more bloud of Christian men possibly less deserving then my self.

It is true, there have been several Addresses made for mercy, and I will put the obstruction of it upon nothing more then upon my own sin, and God sees it

fit

fit having not glorysied him in my life, I might do it my death, I am so contended to do. I professe in the face of God, particular malice to any one of the State or Parliament to do them a bodily injury, I had none.

For the Cause which I had long waded in, I must needs say, my engagement or continuance in it hath laid no scruple upon my conscience, it was no principles of Law, the knowledge whereof I professe, and on principles of Religion, my judgement satisfied, my Conscience rectified, that I have pursued those ways which I blesse God I find no blackness on my conscience, nor have I put it into the bed-Role of my sins.

I will not presume to decide controversies, I desire God to honour himself in prospering that side that hath right with it, and that you may injoy peace and plenty, when I shall injoy peace and plenty, beyond all you possesse here, in my conversation in the VVorld, I do not know where I have an enemy with cause, or that there is such a person whom I have to regret, but if there be any whom I cannot recollect, under the notion of Christian men, I pardon them all as freely as if I had named them by name, I freely forgive them, being in peace with all the world, as I desire God for Christs to be at peace with me. For the bitterness of death is a sad sentence in it self, if men consult with Flesh and blood; but truly I say without boasting, if I do boast it is in the Lord, I have not to this minute had one consultation with the flesh about the blow of the Axe or one thought of the Axe, more then as my passe-port to glory.

I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulness to those under whose power I am, that they have sent me hither to a place, however of punishment yet of some honour to dye a death somewhat worthy of my blood, answerable to my birth and qualification; and this courtesie of theirs, hath much helped towards the pacification of m mind.

I shal desire God that those Gentlemen in that sad Bead-roll to be tried by the *High* Court of Justice, that they may find that really these that is nominal in the Act, an

High Court of justice, a Court of justice high in its righteousnes, though not in its severity. *Father forgive them, and forgive me as I forgive them.*

I desire you now that you would pray for me, and not give over praying till the hour of death, not till the moment of death for the hour is come already; that as I have a great load of sins, so I may have the wings of the prayers to help those Angels that are to convey my soul to Heaven; and I doubt not but I shall see my Saviour, my gallant master the King of *England*, and another master whom I much Honoured my Lord *Capel* hoping this day to see my Christ in the presence of the Father, the King in the presence of him my Lord *Capel* in the presence of them all, and my self there to rejoyce with other Saints and Angels for evermore.

As to his Religion he said, there lyeth a common imputation upon the Cavaleers that they are Papists, and under that name we are made odious to those of the contrary opinion. I am not a Papist but renounce the Pope with all his dependencies; The religion which I profess is that which passeth under the name of Protestant, though that be rather a name of distinction then properly essential to Religion. But the Religion which was found out in the Reformation purged from all the errors of *Rome* in the raign of *Edward* the sixth practised in the raign of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* and King *Charles* that blessed Prince deceased, that Religion, before it was defaced, I am of, which I take to be Christs Catholick though not the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the profession and practice whereof I will live and dye.

Then taking his leave of the Doctor that attended him and the rest of his friends and the Sheriffs, he kissed the Axe, and laid down to the block and at his sign given, the Executioner struck off his head at one blow.

Thus fell a Noble Gentleman a devout Christian a zealous Protestant and a dutiful subject by the mercenary perjuries & snares of a vile sort of men, when we shall

ſhall now ſee the dern juſtice ſpeedily paſſing in a regular & moſt exact method to his glory and their ſhame and confuſion. For this *Barnards*, who ſo lately had proſtituted his confidence, in deſtroying his friend, by the unſearcheable ways of providence came ſhortly after to a moſt ignominious end. 'Tis true he received the wages of his wickedneſs from his blood thirſty maſters, and (as an invitation for other ſuch deſperate fellows to apoſtate from their loyalty, and to involve their own party in mine by their machinations) was made Captain of the Troop of horſe then in *Scotland*, where he continued a while that Command. But *Cromwel* having turned out, that Monſter of a free-ſtate and put an end to their Tyranny, he as an unfit perſon and as uſeleſs, (being ſo well known, that all men of any honour avoided him) and that moreover he owned his preferment to his Patrons of a Common-Wealth, was judged unſecure and dangerous to be continued in that quality any longer where upon he was diſmiſſed, and ſo returned to *London*, where he began his old vicious courſes, which ſoon deceived him of that mony he had got by ſelling the life of this Collonel and ſo forced into his old ſhifts of borrowing as long as his credit or oaths would do it, being rejected and feared by all men, as the common poſt or band of ſociety, he betook himſelf to theevery in which (after ſome other little attempts) he was taken for a Burglery committed on the houſe of Collonel *Winſhorp* at *Weſtminſter*, Collonel in the ſame Regiment where he had his Troop in *Scotland*, (where ſignally may we note how God repayed and retaliated, his villanous murder upon his firſt Collonel by a fellonous robbery of his laſt.) For which fact he was indited at the Seſſions houſe in the Old *Bayly*, where moſt impudently he denyed the Fact, but upon clear proofs and evidence againſt him the Jury found him guilty and the Court paſſed ſentence that he ſhould be hanged for the ſame: After his condemnation he turned for a repreive pretending ſome more diſcoveries to *Cromwel*

and laying before them his good ſervice, for which he was reſpited 2 days, but not being able to make good his word to thoſe Examiners that were ſent to him, he was Executed according to his judgement at Tyburn, ſo far from relenting and confeſſing, that you ſee he would have made uſe of the ſame bloody Artifices, to have prolonged his wretched life. God making his ſin his greateſt and moſt ſevere puniſhment: VVe need not adde here the end of ſome of his other betrayers and enemies, as *Mr. Scot*, who firſt examined him and made up his Charge, they having anſwered for other things at a Barre here, and for this at Heavens Tribunal.

The odiouſneſſe of this monſtrous crime of Treacheachery is ſo great (though the ill naturedneſſe of this laſt age through ſome maligne influences hath much abounded, and for which thoſe that are privily guilty to themſelves; as well as ſuch as have been detected of betraying their friends of the Royall Party, ought ſeriouſly and earneſtly to repent (and ſuch a Bugbear ſin, that it is dreadful enough of it ſelf to fright us from it: but here we may ſee more horrour and uglineſſe added to it by Gods ſpecial abhorrence and detectation of it, manifeſted in the footſteps of his vengeance, wherein he traced this falſe and wicked man to his daſerved end. Yet his ſad example be a caution and Leſſon to all looſe and profane men, whoſe incommunicabilty with vertue and goodneſſe muſt needs breed a ſtrangeneſſe and alienation of affection in the longeſt contracted friendſhip.

The

A mans best fortune or his worst's a wife:
Yet I, that knew nor mariage peace nor strife,
Live by a good, by a bad one lost my life.

A wife like her I writ, man scarse can wed:
Of a false friend like mine, man scarse hath read.

The cruel and barbarous murder of Sir Thomas Overbury *in the Tower of* London *by poyſon, and* Sir Jervas Elvys, Mrs. Turner, Richard Weſton *and* James Franklin *Executed at* Tyburn *and other places for the commitment of it.*

ALthough in this following hiſtory we cannot ſo properly ſay, there was blood for blood the chief inſtruments of this horride murder committed on the perſon of Sir *Thomas Overbury*; being pardoned for the extraordinary mercy of the King, yet the Miniſters that were imployed for the accompliſhment of it, were brought all unto condign puniſhment as by the *Sequele* of this hiſtory ſhall appear.

Mr. *Thomas Overbury* diſcended of an ancient Family in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, added to the ſplendor of his *Natals* by the Excellence of his *Naturals*. In his minority he had an extraordinary happineſs to apprehend, and as great a faculty to retain what he apprehended, which commended him very early from the free-School in *Gloceſter-ſhire* to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and from thence to the Innes of Court. VVhere having in a ſhort time given many pregnant proofs of his extraordinary abilities; his parents thought fit that he ſhould accompliſh what he had gained in his ſtudies at home, by the advantage of new obſervations in travailes abroad. On his return to *England* he was generally looked upon, as one of the moſt qualified perſons in the Nation. His book, called his characters,

was

was a great teſtimony of his wit, and the probity of his life in ſo young an age was as great a proof of his wiſdom. This rendred him remarkeable to many eminent perſonages of the Court and eſpecially to Sir *Robert Car* created lately Viſcount *Rocheſter* who being in greateſt favour with the King was indeed the ſplendor of it, in the mean time the King multiplied favours upon favours, and places of the greateſt dignity on Sir *Robert Car* for beſides his being Viſcount of *Rocheſter* he made him Earl of *Somerſet*, one of the Privy Councel, and principal Secretary of ſtate: For the better manadging of which, great imployments he anicted himſelf with the rare indowments of Mr. *Overbury*, who performed what he undertook with that unwearied induſtry, that he was inforced to have an iſſue made in his left arm for the avoiding of Rheum and evil humours which with continual ſitting and writing in his ſtudy he had contracted.

Mr. *Overbury* now groweth eminent in Court, as welby the Viſcounts favour, as by his great dexterity in the mangement of Court imployments, and the Honour of Knight-hood is beſtowed on him; in the mean time *Frances* Counteſs of *Eſſex* harboured in her heart a ſecret envy towards her husband, and her diſlike of him dayly increaſing, ſhe comes to Court where ſhe is a dayly ſpectator of the riſing fortunes of the Earl of *Somerſet*, and being inflamed as much with the ſpirit of ambition as of luſt, ſhe hath recourſe unto one Mrs. *Turner* who being a Gentlewoman that from her youth had been given over unto an inordinate courſe of life fell from the proſtitution of her body to luſt, to practice ſorcery and inchantment, and many other inconveniences Unto this woman the Counteſs makes her complaint and ſhe her ſelf feeling part of her pain doth pitty her, and in hope of profit doth promiſe to effect any thing which ſhe deſireth, and it was reſolved upon betwixt them to adminiſter poyſon to the Earl but the event not anſwering the expectation of the youthful Counteſs ſhe writes unto him in theſe words.

Sweet Turner,

As thou hast been always hitherto so thou art still: all the hopes I have of enjoying any good in this world. My Lord is as lusty as ever he was, and hath complained to my Brother *Howard* that he hath not layn with me, nor used me as his wife. This makes me mad, since of all men I do loath him being unto me so great an obstacle, and a hinderance that I am afraid I shall never enjoy the other whom I love.

Mrs. *Turner* being struck with amazement, and not knowing what answer on the suddain to return unto this letter, the young Countess comes again unto her, and returning her complaints, she expresseth on extraordinary affection towards the great Favourite the Earl of *Somerset*, she professeth she cannot rest without his company yet doth not know how to enjoy it, there being not the relation nor acquaintance betwixt them; whereupon *Mr. Turner* being ready to put any evil attempt in execution concludes with the Countess to inchaunt the Earl of *Somerset* to affect her; For this purpose they become acquainted with Doctor *Forman* who was an old man that lived at *Lambeth*, and was thought to have skill in the Magick Arts; by great promises of rewards she was overcome to joyn with Mrs. *Turner*, and assureth her that he wil perform the utmost of his power and imploy all his Art, to inchaunt the Earl of *Somersets* affection towards the Countess. Much time is spent and many wayes of witchcraft used, and great cost they are at in making pictures of wax, Crosses of silver and other invenions; they counsail the Countess to continue at the Court where she may have free access without controul, and have all opportunities by words and gestures to intimate her affection to him. This took effect, and the Earl seemed to much taken with her, he numbered her amongst the fairest and the most accomplished of all her sex, and doubled the worth of every action in his estimation of it, insomuch that he could take no delight but onely in the Heaven and happiness of her company. Hereupon their meetings were very frequent where nothing was omitted, that might inflame the heat of a lustful appetite.

It

It was commonly reported that the young Countess of *Essex* being most unwilling to live a solitary and a country life, as my Lord her husband did perswade her to, acquainted her Uncle the Earl of *Northampton* with her discontents, and of her great affection towards the great Favourite of the King the Earl of *Somerset*. Whereupon the Earl of *Northampton* being a person of great policy weighing the advantages that thereunto might redound unto him, seemed rather to give a liking towards it, then any ways endeavoured to dissuade her from it, by giving her that good counsel as was suitable to the authority and gravity of an Uncle, insomuch that it is said the first meeting where they had the opportunity and familiarity of any private conference was at this Earls house, who invited the Earl of *Somerset* to Supper; and finding good there the Countess, they as their pleasure appointed meetings for the time to come.

Now the Earl of *Essex* perceiving himself to be less regarded dissuades his Lady from her looser course of life, and acquaints her withal with the evil report that it had brought upon her, whereupon in a great fury she repayres to her ancient friend Mrs. *Turner*, where they combine to be witch the Earl of *Essex*, and procure in him a frigidity as to her single person. For this purpose Doctor *Forman* was sent for who being come unto them, they framed a picture in wax, and having taken a thorn from a Hawthorn tree that did bear leaves, they did stick it upon the privity of the said picture by which means they accomplish their desires, as to that partitular.

This being done she repairs to her house at *Chartly* in the Country, whither the Earl follows her. Here she enters into new jealousies, and fearing the discontinuance of the Earl of *Somersets* love by the absence of his person, or finding that the Earl of *Essex* began to be more lusty then she expected, she writes a letter to Doctor *Forman* in these words.

Sweet Father,

ALthough I have found you ready at all times further me

yet

yet I must still desire your help, wherefore I beseech you that you keep the door close, and that you still retain the Lord my friend with me, and his affection towards me. I have no cause but to be confident in you, although the World be against me, yet Heaven fails me not, many are the troubles I sustain, the doggednesse of my Lord, the crossenesse of my enemies, and the subversion of my fortunes, unlesse you by your wisdome do deliver me out of the midst of this wilderneſſe which I desire for Gods sake. Your affectionate Daughter

Frances Essex.

THe Doctor had no sooner purused this Letter but immediately he hath recourse to his old trade of Sorcery, and prepares an inchaunted Nutmeg, and a Letter, the Nutmeg to be given to the Earl of *Somerset* in his drink, and the better to work out its effects by kissing his hand and solliciting his eyes. This being done, not long afterwards the Doctor dyed, and one *Gresham* a famous Mathematician, was wholly imployed and interessed in her businesse.

The Earl of *Somerset*, having received the Letter, the more he doth peruse it the more he is possessed with it, whereupon suddainly dispatcheth an answer, and the Countesse posting to *London*, new places of meetings were assigned, the first meeting they had was at *Hammersmith*, the second in *Pater-noster*-Row, and afterward at *Mrs. Turners* house and other places; and it is not to be dissembled but Sir *Thomas* Overbury himself was imployed to carry Letters to and again betwixt them; and as that great Reader of Men as well as of Books, Sr. Fr. *Bacon* doth alledge against him, he was heard he saith to make his brags that he won the Earl the love of that Countesse by his Letters and his industery. Sir *Francis Bacon* in the same Speech at the Arraignment of the Earl of *Somerset*, declairs that Sir *Thomas* Overbury was a man of an impudent and unbounded spirit, and having little that was sollid for Religion or moral virtue, but wholly possessed with ambition and vain glory was loth to have any partners in the favour of the Lord *Somerset*, especially any of the House of the *Howards* against whom he had always profered hatred and opposition.

But

But let him be never ſo naught, or ſo corrupt, the moſt barbarous and bloody murder of him cannot be excuſed; it was brought to the Counteſſe of *Eſſex* ear that Sir Thomas *Overbury* ſhould ſay that ſhe was a Whore, and that oftentimes he had inveighed very bitterly againſt her to the Earl of *Somerſet*, and perſwaded him to abſtain from her company, and that words had paſſed in a very high nature betwixt the Earl of *Somerſet* and Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who threatned as well as advice the Earl, when he bid him be ſure that he ſtood faſt if he kept the Counteſs of *Eſſex* company any longer neither was the anſwer to be forgotten which the Earl of *Somerſet* immediately returned in theſe words,

My own legs are ſtraight and ſtrong enough to bear me up, but in faith I will be even with you for this.

Theſe words of Sir *Thomas Overbury* did move the Earl unto a ſuddain choller, but the Counteſſe who before did bear a great hatred to him, was now at the hearing of this, ſo trapſported with fury and revenge, that immediately with tears in her eyes, ſhe repaired to *Mrs. Turner* to renew her complaints, proteſting that ſhe was never ſo defamed, neither did ſhe ever think that any man durſt have been ſo ſawſy as to call her whore or baſe woman, eſpecially to her Lord, the Earl of *Somerſet*, and with ſo impudent and undaunted a face as *Overbury*, that Negro, that ſcum of men, that devill incarnate, who dares ſpeak any thing and yet paſs unregarded and unpuniſht. This moves pity in Mrs. *Turner*, who weeps as faſt to ſee her weep; at the laſt they both reſolve on to be the death of him, Mrs. *Turner* tells the Counteſſe, that it is pity that he ſhould live to defame ſo honourable a Lady and ſo well deſcended, to the utter diſparaging of her Houſe, and that rather he ſhould paſſe with life, ſhe would be his deaths-man her ſelf. But caſt about which way to do it, they conclude the ſafeſt way was by poyſon, but when they were to ſeek for the party that ſhould perform it; for it muſt be ſome Apothecary or phyſician that had the Art to temper the poyſon rightly to take effect accordingly. After long ſtudy one *Weſton*

was

was named, he had been ſometimes ſervant to Doctor *Turner* Mrs. *Turners* Husband, and learned ſuch experience, that none was ſo fit to accompliſh this murder as himſelf. This man living in the Country muſt immediately be ſent for, and Mrs *Turner* is confident that ſhe ſhall prevail upon him for the effecting of it; 200*l.* pounds are proferred him, Lucre him, and he of all men undertakes it.

The Earl of *Somerſet* enters into a combination with them for them for the poyſoning of Sr *Thom. Overberry*; And diverſe there were that charged the Earl of Northampton to have a hand in it, for which many ſtrong ſuſpitions alleaged. At the ſame time Sir *Thomas Overberry* for his great ſufficiences was nominated by the Council as a fit perſon to be Embaſſadour to the Arch-Duke in *Flaunders*, which the Earl of Somerſet underſtanding contrives a way thereby for his utter overthrow, for craftily he diſſwades him from it, and tells him that his preferment lies not among foraign Nations, that he had found him ſo faithful that he could as well miſſe his right hand as be without him, moreover, if any danger by his denial ſhould befall him, he would ſcreen betwixt him and the anger of the King, and if confined, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavour for his ſuddain diſcharge. Having entertained and abuſed Sir *Thomas* with this vain promiſe, he immediately repaires unto the King, and ſuggeſts unto him how inſolent *Overbury* was grown, and that he now not only contemned him, but his Majeſty alſo in refuſing to undertake this Ambaſſage. The King being incenſed at him for his contempt, he was ſent priſoner to the Tower, of which place Sir *Jervas Elways* was made Lieutenant, by the means of the Earl of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Northampton*, the better to proſecute their deſigns for the poyſoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and the more vigorouſly to effect it, they give order that he ſhould be kept cloſe priſoner, which Sir *Francis Bacon* declares, ought not to be done to a perſon confined to the Tower only upon a contempt, and by their means Sir *Thomas Mounſon* is alſo ſent to the Lieu-

tenant of the Tower that he ſhould not ſuffer any letters or Tokens, or any other thing delivered to him.

The priſoner being now wholly in the cuſtody of his tal enemies, *Mrs Turner* by the inſtigation of the Counteſſe, becomes a great ſuitor to Sir *Thomas Monſon* to have his Letter to the Lieutenant, to have *Weſton* to attend on Sir *Thomas Overberry*, which ſuddainly was granted, and Sir *Thomas Overbury* not knowing, which way to avoid it, did ſeem to be contented with it.

In the mean time there is a motion for a marriage between the Earl of *Somerſet* and the Counteſſe. It was alledged that the Earl of *Eſſex* was unable to perform the Office of an Husband, and twelve Matrons impannelled to ſearch the body of the Counteſſe, and to return verdict whether ſhe was a true maid or not, but moſt are of opinion that the Counteſſe was never ſearched, being ſaid to have a child in her Lords abſence, but that one of Sr *Tho. Monſons* daughters was brought in to be ſearched in her place, and ſo both Jury and Judges were deceived. However a Bill of Divorſe was granted, and the marriage betwixt the Earl of *Somerſet* and the Counteſſe of *Eſſex* in great pomp was ſolemnized

This was no ſooner brought to the ears of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, but he told the meſſenger that he had almoſt as good have told him that on tomorrow he muſt dye; and being in a great perplexity he wrote this letter to the Earl of *Somerſet*.

Right Noble and VVorthy Sir,

YOur accuſtomed Favours and abſolute promiſe, concerning my preſent deliverance hath cauſed me at this time to ſolicite your Lordſhip, and to put you in remembrance of the ſame, not doubting that your honour is at all forgetful of me, but onely by reaſon of my impriſonment, being poſſeſt with diverſe diſeaſes, I would for my bodyes health and ſafety taſt the felicity of the open air, in which caſe, if your Lordſhip ſhall please to commiſerate my preſent neceſſities by procuring all my ſpeedy deliverance, I ſhall not only ſtand ſo much the more obliged to you, but alſo acknowledg you the preſerver of my

life.

the letter being read, the Earl writes back unto him, that the Court was at preſent buſie about importent affairs but as ſoon as he could finde opportunity, he would not fail to ſpeak in his behalf. In the mean time to eaſe the pain of his melody he had ſent him a Soveraign powder either to be eat or drink which powder was rank poyſon.

We made mention before of the death of Doctor *Forman*, whom *Greſham* ſucceeded, and who dyed alſo in a ſhort time after him, and one *Franklin* was entertained in his place who was thought to be no leſs a wizzard then the two former, and was admirable in the confecting and laying of poyſon, he confeſſed at his arraignment that on the requeſt of Mrs. *Turner* who came from the Counteſs to him he bought ſeven ſorts of ſtrong and rank poyſons, *viz.* *Aquafortis* white Arſenick, Mercury *Powder of Diamonds*, *Lapis coſtitus*, *great Spiders* and *Cantharides* all which at ſeveral times were adminiſtred to Sir *Thomas Overbury*.

But the firſt who began to practice the execrable deſign of poyſoning the body of Sir *Thomas*, was old *Weſton* who (as I have ſaid before) was entertained into the Tower on purpoſe for the effecting of it, he was no ſooner made Sir *Thomas Overburies* keeper but received on the ſame day being the ſixth of *May* 1613. a certain yellow poyſon called *Roſalgar* in a Vial and having Sir *Thomas* Overburies ſupper in on hand, and the Vial of poyon in the other he met with the Leiutenant of the Tower in the way, and ſaid unto him *Sir ſhall I give it him now*, where upon the Leiutenant took him aſide and diſſwaded him ſo far forth, that at that time he did not adminiſter it to him.

Nevertheleſs not long afterwards he did put in practice, and gave him alſo many other poyſons, and addreſſing himſelf to Mrs. *Turner* for the promiſed reward, ſhe ſharply took him up, and demanded if he had no more conſcience to demand his reward before he had his work to whom he replyed that he had given him poyſon enough to kill him many men, but his conſtitution was ſo ſound that it overcame

came the poyſon. The operation of it nevertheleſs both in purging and in vomiting made him extreamly ſick and brought him to the doors of death.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* being thus extreamly afflicted both in mind and body knew not what to conclude of himſelf, the Earl of *Somerſet* under pretence of love ſent oftentimes to viſite him and ſometimes Mr. *James* and Mr. *Rawlins* two Gentlemen who had dependence on the Counteſs would come unto him as well from their Lady as themſelves to pay her civil reſpects unto him, and Tarts and Jellies were ſent often unto him from the Counteſs being all rankly poyſoned, as ſo many preſents of love to get him a ſtomack but the reader muſt underſtand that there were alſo other Tarts and Jellies ſent by the Earl of *Somerſet* to Sir *Thomas Mounſon* to be delivered to *Weſton* for Sir *Thomas Overbury* to eat every one of which Tarts and Jellies were poyſoned with ſeveral ſorts of poyſon. Theſe courſes cauſed Sir *Thomas Mounſon* to be ſuſpected of his horrible act, as to have a hand in it. for it was proved that they were conveyed to the Tower from his houſe, and afterwards indited at the bar at *Guild-hall* as an acceſſary to his murder, though he made high proteſtations of his innocence yet the Queens Atturny who was preſent at the tryal proteſted to the Lord chief Juſtice that he had examined the buſines, and found him to be as guilty, as the guiltieſt.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* finding his health dayly to impayre and grow weaker, and weaker promiſes for his deliverance which the Earl of *Somerſet* made in his letters to him to be but dilatory ayres he very roundly did write unto him this following letter.

My Lord,

I wonder you have not as yet found means to effect my delivery, I remember you ſaid you would be even with me, and ſo indeed you are; but aſſure your ſelf my Lord if ye do not releaſe me but ſuffer me thus to die, my blood will be required at your hands.

He

He (as rich men do commonly desire a luscious diet) requested that he might have more tarts and jellies, being ignorant of the dangerous ingredients that were in those which had been so often sent unto him: these tarts also were provided by Mrs. *Turner* with the knowledge of the Countess, and they were poysoned with *Mercury* sublimate.

King *James* of his own accord, having one day at dinner made motion of the Captivity of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and that he would have him released; the Earl of *Somerset* acquainted the Countesse with it, and in his letter to her, wondred at the delays and what should be the reason that the businesse was not yet dispatched, he assured her also that if *Overbury* should come out of prison they should all be undone. Hereupon she hath recourse again to *Mrs Turner*, who understanding from *Weston* that Sir *Thomas* had a desire to have some gentle physick to be administred to him, they hired an Apothecaries boy for 20*l.* to poyson a Glister, which was no sooner infused into his body but he fell into a great extremity of vomiting, he had 60 stools and Vomits, and never left purging untill his soul abandoned his poysoned body.

Being dead, many Blanes and blisters appeared on on his infected body, which was suddainly and unreverently buried in a pit, digged in a very mean and private place, and to reprive him as well of his good Name as of his life, they raised a slanderous report, that he dyed of the French Pox.

The manner of the death of this much deplored Knight, being now concealed Two years Doctor or thereabouts, it pleased God by the means of Sir Thomas Overbury's *Friends and Servants to bring it to light, and by the appoinement of his Majesty, my* Lord Coke *was sent unto, to prosecute the matter,* Weston *was sent for, and was examined upon divers Articles, and was intreated, perswaded and threatned to tell the truth, but with much confidence he denyed the Fact, for the space of*

This confeſſion of *Weſtons* being taken the Earl of *Somerſet*, and his Counteſs are attacked, and the one of them was committed to the protection of the Dean of *Weſtminſter*, and the other to the Sheriff of *London*; and being both of them afterwards arraigned, and tryed by their Peers they were both condemned to dye, but pardoned by the extraordinary mercy of the King; and although all care was taken by them for the burning of all letters and papers that concerned this buſineſs, yet divers inchantments diſcovered written in parchment, wherein was contained the Names of the bleſſed Trinity, as they are mentioned in the Scriptures and in another ſcrole * *P*. * *C*. * *D*. * *E*. A third inchantment was alſo found written in parchment with all the Names of the Holy Trinity as alſo a figure, in which was written this word *Corpus* and upon the ſaid parchment was faſtned the skin of a man. In ſome of theſe parchments the Devils had particular Names which were conjured to torment the Earl of *Somerſet*, and Sir *Arthur Manwaring* if his love ſhould not continue to Mrs. *Turner*, and the Earls unto the Counteſs.

Weſton was executed at Tyborn where he was ſaid to make a penitent end and ſhortly afterwards Mrs. *Turner* in her yellow Ruff & Cuffs being put into a cart was carried to Tyburn and there executed; many eminent perſons came in their coaches to ſee her dye to whom ſhe made a ſpeech deſiring them not to rejoyce; but rather take an example by her fall, ſhe exhorted them to ſerve God, and to abandon pride, and all other ſin, and ſhewing many ſigns of penitency ſhe moved the ſpectators to pitty and great grief for her.

Sir *Jervas Yelvis* having made a very godly and penitent end on the Tower hill where he was hanged, and where he confeſſed that having been a great gamſter, and exhauſted a great part of his means at play he one time on his knees vowed ſeriouſly to the Lord in his prayer, *Lord let me be hanged if ever I play any more* which judgement (having ſince a thouſand times

broke that vow) he said was now most justly come pu. on him

Francklin the Wizzard and the confectionary of the Poysons was hanged at Tyburn, as most justly he deserved, and the Countesse her selfe though pardoned by the King, lived afterwards a discontented life, being neglected by the Earl of *Somerset*, and towards her latter end being much tormented in her conscience, Shee would oftentimes cry out at the injuries she had done to her first Hsband the Earl of *Essex*.

Thus be the persons never so great, or the contrivances never so close, you see that murder at last is o pen-mouthed doth and never go unpunished.

THE

Earle of Montros

Sold by P Stent

The Life, Death, and Tragical Execution of the ever renowned *James Graham*, *Marqueſs* of *Montroſs*, Earl of *Kincardine*, &c.

OF all the impotencies of malice and revenge, there is not in Hiſtory any ſuch relation, as this touching the death of this famous and moſt noble perſon. Ambition, advantage and intereſt have been the uſual incentives to ſuch outrages; but in the violent and deplorable end of this *Hero* there cannot be ſeen the footſteps of any the aforeſaid inducements, no nor ſo much as of the worſt revenge that ever yet was taken by conſent and deſignment of ſo many. If we conſider him, we ſhall find him to be the moſt approvedſt, valienteſt Loyal ſubject the *Scotch* Nation ever bred; if we conſider his enemies we ſhall find many of them to have been Nobles, learned and able men; if we conſider the times he lived in, they were full of trouble and danger, if the ſtate, in as great turbulency as thoſe times and its own prevalent corruption could make it, ſo that *Scotland* had never more need of Gallant reſolute and knowing men to ſteere and aſſiſt her in thoſe tumultuary Seas which the Volge ſwelled by the rage of a mad Clergy had raiſed in that Kingdom; if we again conſider his enemies in the ſame times and ſtate of affairs we ſhall find them doing all they could, their very uttermoſt, to embroyle and confound their own Countre, yand at laſt reduced it by their deviſions and ſeparations of their fellow ſubjects, under the yoak of the *Engliſh* Common-Wealth, whom before they had ſo powerfully aſſiſted in their rebellion againſt both of their lawful Soveraigns; a crime in them ſo much the more ugly and abhorred becauſe it was ſo unnatural.

This

This is it alone which abates the wonder of this perpetration upon the life and dignity of this Marquess, as lesser faults are extenuated by greater; and therefore leaving the guilt among the complices and confederates in it till the conclusion of this doleful Tragedy, we will particularize the most memorable passages of this honourable persons story, till his *exit*.

He was born and descended of one of the most ancienst noble families in *Scotland*, one of his great Ancestors having been the Champion and restorer of his Country, and much celebrated for many illustrious actions in the *Scotch Chronicles*, having been Regent or some such supream Officer in that Kingdom during the disputes for that Crown betwixt *Bruce* and *Bayliol*, From that time his family continued in great luster, with the title of *Montross*, which in this person was advanced to a Marquisate by his worthy atchievements, the ancient splendor of his house being not only equalled but gloriously surpassed. To his other dignities this being added, *The Kings governour General of his Kingdom of Scotland*, Tantamount to the same eminency of that his famous progenitor.

In the beginning of the *Scotch* troubles he was thought to be be very forward, with the rest of the Nobility in the business of the pretended reformation, and upon the raising of arms there by the Covenanters, was made a Brigadeer with a Command over 2500 Horse and Foot, which he passed first of all the *Scotch* army over *Tweed* in the year 1639. and that the better to amuse the Grandees of the Rebellion, underhand maintaining intelligence with the King, and giving him an account of their proceedings.

After *Newcastle* taken by them in the year 1640. some jealousie was had of him by the Covenanters, being led thereunto by some papers discovered which had either dropt or been taken out of the Kings pockets by Duke *Hamilton* or some of his confidents (that family being enemies and at feud with the Marquess) whereupon he and Lord *Napier*, were presently secured and imprisoned, but upon the pacification soon after concluded set again at liberty

ſoon after the war began to flame in *England* which had been kindled in *Scotland*, and the Parliament at *London* addreſt themſelves for ſupplies and aſſiſtance to their good brethren, of whom they had ſo lately well deſerved in giving them 100000*l*. Whereupon the command of the Lieutenant General of the army which they had raiſed to march into *England* was proffered him notwithſtanding thoſe former proofs & evidences of his Loyalty to the King, which they thought to overweigh with this great truſt and employment. But the Marqueſs retaining thoſe diſguſt at his late reſtraint, or not willing to palliate longer his dutiful reſpects to the King when his affairs required an open and ſtrong aſſiſtance modeſtly refuſed their proffer, and preſently after with my Lord *Ogilby* fled out of *Scotland* and came to the King at *Oxford*, where he diſcovered to the King the full intents of the Covenanters and that aſſuredly they would invade *England* in the beginning of the year 1644. With the contrary whereof Duke *Hamilton* had ſo poſſeſt with the King and the Queen, urging his own and his families influence upon the *Scotch* Parliament, that the King was totally ſurprized with this alarum.

He obtained therefore of the King a Commiſſion, the *Scotch* being entred *England*, (according as he had ſaid) to be Governour of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as alſo letters to the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* to furniſh him with men and Ammunition fit for ſuch an expedition; but upon his addreſs to the ſaid Marqueſs he could obtain no more then 800 horſe and 2 field pieces, beſides his letters mandating to his Officers in *Cumberland* and *Northumberland* to ſpare him what men he could, which amounted in all to 800 foot and 8 Troops of horſe; with theſe forces the gallant Marqueſs marched into *Scotland*, but in paſſing over the river *Anan*, the *Engliſh* mutined and forſook their colours, ſo that he was compelled to retreat to *Carlile* and there with thoſe few Loyal *Engliſh* that ſtayed with him ſent the Lord *Ogilby* to the King to acquaint him with what had happened to the beginning of his enterpriſe never-

Nevertheleſs he reſolved not to give it over thus, but underſtanding that all ways and paſſages were ſo hard that it would be a difficult task for him by force to get into the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, where the Marqueſs of *Auſtin* was to land ſome 2000 *Iriſh*, to his aſſiſtance he determined to paſs diſguiſed in the company of two men, *Sibalds* whoſe man the Marqueſs went for, and ſo came ſafe to the houſe of his coſin *Patrick Graham* of *Inniſtrake* in *Perthſhire*, where he had news of the aforeſaid *Iriſh* being 1100 landed in the Highlands whither he preſently marched, and whither came to him 800 men more out of *Athal*, with theſe the Marqueſs reſolved to attempt the Covenanters at *Perth* having by the way an addition of 500 men more under the Command of the Earl of *Kilpart*; near this City the Covenanters being 7000 in number, reſolved to fight him, whereupon inſued a battle in which they were totally overthrown 2000 ſlain, and more priſoners, and the City of *Perth* ſubmitted to the conquerer.

Forthwith the Marqueſs not ſtaying to attain any place purſued his fortune, and finding the Lord *Burleigh*; an other Covenanting General, at *Aberdeen*, gave him battle, overthrew him, & the vanquiſhing enemy runing into *Aberdeen*, his army pell mell entred with them and took the City, where he had not too dayes reſted but his ſcouts informed him that the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, his implacable enemy, was at hand with a greater army then any of the reſt, wherefore he retired, intending to paſs over the ſpey, where another army awaited him; being thus beſet, he with too much care falls ſick but having ſome Caſtles to frend ſoon recovered, but yet no ſooner then through want of inteiligence and careleſneſs of ſcouts he found *Argyle* and *Latham* on his back, whreſore he kept himſelf in the hills till by the advantage of the night he eſcaped and though moſt of his prime ſouldiers forſook him got into *Athol* again, and there joyned with *Macdonnel*.

Being thus informed he follows *Argyle* unto his own Country, which he harassed with fire and sword and overtaking the said *Argyle* at *Longhaber* though newly supplyed from the *Lowlands*, he totally routed him killing them for nine miles together, to the number of 1500. Many of *Argyles* family were herekilled, he himself saving his life by boat: From thence returning to *Brechin* he puts to flight a great party of horse under *Hurry*, and then offered battle to *Henry Bayly* newly sent for out of the *Scotch* army in *England* which was refused by that wary Commander; the Marquess finding his army to decrease retreated again to the mountains, but understanding that *Hurry* was marched to fall upon the Lord *Gordons* new levies to which purpose he was sent by the Marquess, he resolved to oppose him with all speed, and to fight with the enemy now disjoyned, having therefore met with the Lord *Gordon* he hastened against *Hurry*, so strengthened with the assistance of all the Country there abouts, that many began to think of retreating, when intelligence came that *Bayly* with a stronger army from the *South* had prepossest the hills, and therefore of necessity he chose to fight with *Hurry*, whom after a cruel fight he vanquished, 3000. Foot being slain the horse saving themselves by a base flight.

Bayley being now supplemented with the broken forces of *Hurry* and another reserve from the Earl of *Lindsey* was at last drawn to a fight, though against his will by the rashness of the Lord *Balcarris*, and after a most bloody battle was defeated at *Alford* 2 *July* 1645.

Upon this victory and the addition of other forces under the aforesaid *Patrick Graham* and *Mac-Donnel* he marched directly into the heart of the Kingdom, frighting thereby the Parliament from their Sessions at *Saint-Johnston* near whereunto he had a considerable body of horse joyned with him under the Earl of *Aboyn* and others: having found out the enemy he proffered them battle in that Champion country. After many traverses and refusals to fight, at last the

Covenanters

Covenanters engaged at a place called *Kilſithfield*, where they received their greateſt and almoſt fatal overthrow, 6000 being ſlain on the place ſcarce a 100 foot eſcaped, the horſe fared little better, but their heels ſaved ſome, amongſt whom many of the Nobility who fled out of the *Kingdom* many wayes; the reſt ſubmitting to the Kings governour and taking part with him.

This famous victory reduced the whole Kingdom to its obedience, the victor being complemented by all the Cities in the Nation to admit them into his protection. Whereupon he marched to *Edenburgh* but the plague raging therein (and having received ſome priſoners out of the Caſtle) and their ſubmiſſions and proteſtations of future fidelity) marched by it with his army, with which reduced to a ſmal number by the going away of *Aboyn* and *Macdonnel* with 4000 or 5000 of his beſt men, he entered into *Annandale* and *Niddiſdale*, where he was on part recruited with ſome forces from the Marquiſs of *Douglaſs*, his whole army not amounting to above 600 foot and thoſe *Iriſh*, and ſome 200 new raiſed horſe, his Highland Officers petending for their abſence [that there was no ſhew of reſiſtance in *Scotland*, and that the army in *England* under *Leſhly* was at ſo great diſtance being then at *Hereford*, that they could well return before he or any part of his army could advance to him.

By this preſumptuous confidence (if not worſe) the Marqueſs was abandoned and left to that ill fortune which ſoon after followed. For *David Leſhly* being importuned to come to the reſcue of the *Kirk* out of *England*, made ſuch haſt that he was upon the Marqueſs with 6000 horſe before he had received any notice ſave onely what ſight at the diſtance of half a mile afforded him. He was then quartered with that ſmall army (which was well known to *Leſhly*) at *Selkirk*, from whence having ſuddenly mounted (being writing letters to the King at the ſame time) he drew his ſmall numbers as conveniently, and ſpeedily he could into order at a place called *Phillips Haugh*, but

Leſhly

Leſhley preſſed ſo hard and ſo mightily ovepowred him, though ſome 120 horſe, conſiſting moſt of Noblemen and Gentry in the right way twiee repulſed him, and then were forced for want of reſerves to flie, that the day was preſently loſt the foot cut in peeces, the Marqueſſe himſelf (at firſt concluding to leave his life in the place, at laſt plucking up his heart to ſafer reſolutions) hardly eſcaping out of the midſt of his enemie with ſome of his foreſaid horſe, and from thence made away (carrying with him ſome priſoners, notwithſtanding ſome priſoners into Athot and there vigorioully having received new levies to proſecute the war,

To this purpoſe he importunately ſolicited the Marqueſſe of Huntley to concurre with him effectually for the carrying on the Kings affairs; but he jealous of anothers greatneſſe and honour could not comply to any purpoſe, and at laſt abruptly refuſed which in the end proved his own ruine, being beheaded ſoon after Montroſſes departure of the Kingdome, which happened thus.

The King having been worſted in England and no hopes of raiſing another army, being in perſon beſieged in Oxford as the laſt and worſt of remedies had put himſelf into the Scots hands then laying before Newe ark, upon his coming to them the firſt thing required of him was that he ſhould ſend his commands to the Marqueſſe preſently to disband and depare the Kingdome. Thus the King partly was compelled and partly willing to do, the one for a ſtronger obligation on the Scots whom he was forced to truſt, the other for a generall peace which they ſhould ſee he would endeavour to attain, though with ſo apparent diminutions of his ſtrength, which then reſted wholly in the Marqueſs and accordingly upon receit of theſe Commands from the King, who had articled a Months time for his ſtay and proviſion, the obeyed disbanded his unwilling army, and prepared for his departure

Pur

But now the ſublile and cruel malice of his enemies firſt appeared for it, having been agreed that the Parliament of Scotland ſhould find him ſhipping, they deferred it till the very day before limited for his exile, and that Ship unrigged and unfit, as well unprovided of all neceſſaries. The Noble Marqueſſe therefore ſeeing this cruell practice of his enemies, which was to ſeize him as a Traytor, in not obeying the Command aforeſaid; there lying ſome Engliſh Ships to intercept him at his deſigned place of embarquement, was forced to find out a bark that lay in the Haven of *Montroſſe* and diſguiſed as a ſervant to one Mr. *James Wood* his Chaplain in a Cock-boat, came aboard the ſaid Veſſell the 6. of *Sept.* 1646. and being ſo cleared of his enemies, he paſſed over into Norway and thence into France, where he was proffered the place General of all the ſtranger Forces in that Kingdome but through the malignity and hatred of Cardinal Mazarine to the whole Scotch Nation in general, it took no effect. And the like Honorable and brave Commands that were tendred him by the Emperour, but they were too farre diſtant; his mind bending ſtill homeward.

Till the Kings death he continued this his peregrination, and then betook himſelf to his Majeſty, *Charls* the II. at the Hague, where he was Nobly and according to his deſerts welcomed by that Court. But the Scots driving on a Treaty with the King whom they had Proclaimed, had by a particular Article debarred the Marqueſſe of returning home, that being one of their pratiſlynaries which muſt be agreed on. He therefore fore-ſeeing the iſſue, before any concluſion ſhould be made of that Treaty which was then in agitation; reſolved preſently with what forces he could get, which he was raiſing in Denmark, Holſteyn and Brandenburg; having procured ſhipping, and ſome mony by means of the Queen of Sweden, to tranſport himſelf into Scotland, and make better conditions both for his Majeſty and himſelf.

Upon

Upon this deſign he imbarqued himſelf (though the ill Omen of the loſſe of 2. Ships with men and armes, might have deter'd an indifferent reſolution) but with the reſt of his new raiſed company, and ſome Scotch Gentlemen who were ambitious of venturing their lives and fortunes with him, and arrived about July at *Cathnes* the furtheſt point Northward in *Scotland*, where he publiſhed a Declaration, proteſting his coming was onely to the removing ſome perſons who had bin inſtrumental in the death of the late King and were as ſtubborn and diſloyal towards this; but the people ſtirred not onely ſtirred ſome few Iſlanders, who were ill armed, and worſe trayned. He had ſcarce ſet footing in the Highlands, when the Van of the Scotch Army commanded by *Mr. Straughan* and David *Leſhley* following him with 4000 horſe, fel immediately upon him and routed his ſmall Army, 200. were killed and 1200 taken; he himſelf for the preſent eſcaped cutting his way thorow. But after 3 days having changed cloaths with a Highlander was diſcovered and betrayed by the Lord *Aſton* to *David Leſhley*, who brought in triumph to *Edenburge*, where after many indignities and contumelies done to ſo great a perſon, they condemned him to be hanged upon a Gibbet 50 yards high, his body to be quartered and ſet upon 4 principal Gates of 4 chief Cities, which was done with the greateſt ignominy and barbarity as ever the Chriſtian World heard of, though he bore all their inſultations with a moſt quiet and pleaſant mind, asking them if they had no more diſgrace (as they thought it) to put upon him; and then courageouſly and yet meekly ſubmitted himſelf to their cruelty.

Reader, For my part I am aſtoniſhed at this ſalvage inſſe, eſpecially ſince it was chiefly committed by the chief of the *Kirk* Miniſters and ſuch like; but *quos perdere vult Jupiter hos prius dementat*, queſtionleſſe, the men were mad; for ſee what a deluge of miſery broke in upon them. The Engliſh Common-Wealth then ſo ſtiled in a ſhort time utterly ſubverted both Church and ſtate, captivating both in a moſt direfull manner

to

the utter infamy and reproach of the Scotch Nation, whom peradventure and probably enough God might have been pleased to rescue by the hand of this right Valiant, wise and expert Captain. They have bitterly expiated his and other Noble blood spilt upon his score and therefore I leave the Nation in general to the sad remembrance of it.

As to his particular Enemies, we have seen the divine Vengeance satisfied upon some of them, the Marquesse of *Argile* his closest and most mortal Foe, passing the same violent though not the same manner of death. But *Gathreyne* who most bitterly inveighed against him at his death going the very same track; and others not yet sure to escape the reach of the Law, though for a time God may please to respit them. *Vindex sequitur a Tergo Deus*——and therefore speedy repentance and confession of that inhumane guilt wil be their only and most consulted security.

We have seen for a conclusion and to eternize the memory of this Right VVorthy *Hero*, the resuscitation of his Honour (while his enemies shal perish as the dung) in the solemn magnificent funerals of his scattered limbs before the illustrious pretence and nobility of that Kingdom, of which, an Account is already given.

The two Sons of Mr. *Sonds* of *KENT*.

The Contents.

Mr George Sonds *of* Kent *having two Sons, the one named* George *the other* Freeman, *doth give the like education to them both. The younger quarrels with the Elder about a Doublet, and observing that his Father did most begin to affect the elder, he conceals his hatred for a while, but afterwards taking his opportunity, he most inhumanely butchered his brother, being in his bed asleep, and brings his Father to behold him wallowing and lost in his blood, for which most barbarous murther being immediately apprehended, he was deservedly hanged for the same.*

Tragicide

Fratricid, or one brother killing of another, as it is the most unnatural so it is one of the oldest sins in the world, when there were hardly any more then two brethren, yet as if mankind had been then too numerous, we shall find one of them killing the other; we shall find *Cain* killing his brother, his brother *Abel*. Because the oblation which *Abel* offered to God was more acceptable to God, therefore *Cain* would now make a new oblation to himself, and sacrifice his brother *Abel* to his own fury. The quarrel betwixt these brothers was not for a doublet (as betwixt the two Sonds) for *Adam* their Father was but newly in his breeches, and those so homely and so sleightly made, as if he would leave no cause of contestation or of boasting to his proud posterity, either for the richness of the stuff, or the curiosity of the fashion; neither could they quarrel for the plurality of Acres, who had all the world for their possession; the jealousie and the bloudy effects of it was because the younger brother was more acceptable to God, as the elder here in this story (which we are now come to represent unto you) was more acceptable to his Father.

Sir *George Sonds* a Knight of an ancient family in *Kent* was married to a fair and accomplished Gentlewoman who being ravished from by an untimely death, she left two sons as the dear pledges of her self to the tender care, and education of their Father, who in all particulars was as indulgent to the one as to the other; differed not much in their age, and were alike in their stature, as their physiognomy. Being put forth to a good School they testified the abilities of their Schoolmaster by the many singular instructions they received from him, and this conveyed a great joy to the heart of their Father who came oftentimes to visite them, and to see what proficiency they made in their studies of good letters.

In which indeed they were so early accomplished that about fifteen or sixteen years of age they were found fit for the University of *Cambridge* and were placed in *Sidny* College, under the governmental care of

and learned Tutor, where having employed some years in the Studies of Legick and phylosophy, and being both quallifyed for the Degrees of batchellour of Art. Their father took them from thence with an intent te prefer them to the Study of the *English* Laws in the Inns of Court.

But what study can alter Nautre. It is indeed recorded of *Socrates* the Phylosopher, that a Mathematician looking on him admired the masculines of his profession, and the strictnesse of his discipline, having a Physiognomy so Effeminate. Whereunto *Socrates* made answer, that indeeed by natue he was lascivious; but by industry and circumspection he had corrected that infirmity.

Oh that this young Gentleman could have contained such a happy conquest over himself. VVe find his Eldest Brother to be of an affable temper, and of himselfe disposed to the exercise of virtue; but this young man was of a contrary humour, being of a sullen Constitution; difficult to be pleased, perverse to all, and as cross to his own Father as to a Stranger.

And yet see what good society can do, as long as hee enjoyed the happinesse of his brothers commpany, and some others with whom he was trained up; untill the strength of youth spurred him on to gallop with loose Rains of Rage to his own destruction.

His elder brother living now with him in their Fathers house, by often Discourse and Commerce with Mrs *Anne Delaune* his Cosin German, did fall in love with her; and did court her and woo her in the way of marriage, she lived with her Father at *Lingstead* not far from his Fathers house.

The Young Gentlewoman seemed at first unwilling by reason of the near contiguity of their bloud, but being at the last overcome by the importunity of his sighs and protestations, and by the eloquent palenesse of his complexion, which spoke him a true Lover, she did accept him at first for her Servant, and not long afterwards was ready to embrace him as it were

for her Husband. This was not carried with so much privacy, but one Mr. *Hutchinson* having notice of it did write to Sr. *George Sonds* to this effect, he thought his Son *George* did come to his house out of love to Bowling, but he now perceived that it was out of love to his Cousin *Anne De Laune*, and that if it were not timely prevented, they might make themselves sure together,

Cousin,

THere is a businesse going on betwixt my Son and You, altogether against the liking of your Parents, And if you proceed in it, it will be the ruine of you both, for I shall never give way to it, so unlawful I do hold it for Cosin Germans to marry. And therefore if you will go no further in it, I shall be a good Friend to you and take care to provide you a fitting Husband.

The young Gentlewoman replying,

SIR.

IT is already gone so far that I think my Cousin George *will not consent to what you propound, but if he be willing I shall not be against it, yet I think he will not.*

SIR *George* having thus attempted to breake the thred which begun to wind it self into a knot, returned home and meeting with his son *George*, told him that he had heard a buisinesse of love betwixt him and his cousin *Anne de Laune* and willed him to lay it aside, it being distastefull both to him and to his Sister who esteemed not only to be ignorant of their love but also to dislike it as much my self.

To this he promised obedience. and discontinued his accustomed Journies to *Lingstead* for some few dayes, but being solicited by some friends who privately acquainted him with the constancy of his Kinswomans love and her wonder at his long absence, he earnestly besought his Father to give him leave to wait upon his Aunt, who with much difficulty gave his consent unto it, but withall strictly charged him not to renew his love to his cousin. He had not been gone long, but his Father followed him, and finding them both toge-

ther

ther he commanded them very roundly to lay aside all thoughts of a match, the marriage of Cozen Germans being odious alwayes, and much abhorred by him, he also declared to his son in his cosins presence that if he was so undutiful as to marry her, he must never look to come within his doors again.

The Father being gone, the yong man immediately followed him, and his Father commending him for his dutifulnesse advised him to forbear to go any more thither which counsel he carefully observed, and having receiv'd several letters, and invitations from his cosin to assure him how welcome he should be to her, and to complain of the injury of his absence, he once for all acquainted her with his resolution in this ensuning letter.

George Sands to Mistris *Ann Delanne.*

Cosin,

I Have of late received many letters, and messages from your self and my Aunt your Mother, inviting me to visit you, and tendering service as an affectionate lover. I must confess the error of my youthful thoughts not able to fathom the depth of Reason or Religion did for a time make my fancy deviate, and strain my love into affection, but what ever my thoughts or intents were then, the matter being known unto my Father, I observe so much averseness in him that I cannot go on. Besides I beseech you (sweet Cosin) to consider that we are so near in blood, that I fear God will never prosper such a marriage. Therefore I earnestly intreat you to have me excuted from a further progress; and desire you likewise to have no more thoughts of it, but quite lay it aside the continuance whereof will have so much evil in it, as will work not onely for the unhappiness but the ruine of us both, to avoid which shall be the desire and indeavour of ye ur. truely loving cosin.

George Sands.

THis letter was very unwelcome to the yong Gentlewoman, and to her; Mr. *Sands* nevertheless continued in his resolution, and to give no occasion for future sollicitations he for a while abandoned his Fathers house, and privately retired to a friend in *Sussex.*

The Elder brother having a farewel to his love, his yonge brother Mr. *Freeman Sands* becomes strongly inamoured on gallant yong Gentlewoman who was said to be intitely possessed with an estate of four hundred pounds a year. This love love the Father also heareth of and indeavoureth to divert it, but he finds his son *Freeman* of a temper quite different from

his Elder brother, for he is obstinately resolved to have he chome what will of it. This makes the Father to give way nto it, but the land which he offers to estate him with not answering his expectation, he leaps from love into fury and conceiving with himself that if his brother were dead, he, should be the sole heir; he is tempted by the Devil to contrive his brothers death.

Much about the same time his brother being returned from *Sussex*, and having some business that called him to *London* by an obvious mistake (rising early in the morning) did put on his brother *Freemans* doublet, and being come home desired his brother that he might have his own again, which he obstinately denyed, although his Father did use his authority therein, and did command him to give it him, whereupon his Father said nnto him. *I see son Freeman this is nothing but wilfulness to cross your brother, to whom you have no reason to be so dogged, for I tell you, I dye, you must be beholding to him, and whatsoever your flatterers tell you of a thousand pound a year or more that you have, which your Father cannot keep from you, I who know better then they, tell you plainly, that you have not a groat but what you must be beholding to your Father for, and that it is in his power to leave you as little as your Uncle* Nicholas *had left him. And therefore you need not carry your self so stubbornly against him, as if all were your own already; I tell you these cross humours of yours, if you continue in them, will ruine you.*

These were his Fathers words, but he spake to a deaf yong man who had no ears either for truth, or reason, for he would and did keep the doublet, say his Father and his brother what they could.

Now he became so inflamed with choler and fury, that he would not onely have his brothers doublet but his brothers blood also. With indignation he heard the words of his Father, and scorned to be beholding to his brother for his maintenance, and vowing revenge, he onely waited for an opportunity to affect it.

Three months were now elapsed since this contestation happened, and yong *Freeman*, the better to conceale his bloody resolution, did ever afterwards entertain his Father and his brother with all the duty, and respect could be imagined, in so much that all former quarrels seemed to be buried and quite forgotten.

Sir *George Sands* having been some weeks a prisoner in *Upnor* Castle was now newly come home, when his yonger

son

ſon the better to gratulate his advent, did reſolve upon the hour of the præmeditated murder of his brother. Night being paſt he comes to his brothers chamber, and entring into it, he finds him faſt aſleep, he returns therefore to his own, and taking an iron Cleaver in one hand, & his ſteeletto in the other; with the one he beates out his brains and with the other doth ſtab him in ſeven or eight places in or about his heart; and as if he would have murdered his Father by the report of what he had done, as he had murdered his brother by the fact it ſelf, he came to him with bloudy hands, and with a barbarous and boaſting tongue relates unto him the wonder of his Atchievemen', he takes him along with him and brings him to the bedſide of his brother whom he trembles to behold gaſping, and wounded & weltring in his own blood.

If the young man had in him any ſence either of Grace or Dutifulneſſe, the pleaſure of his Father towards him might have perſwaded him to thoughts of humility and repentance, and to pacifie that anger which ſo highly he had provoked; but we ſee him ſo far from compunction that he ſeems to defend himſelf, and in a manner excuſe the villany he had committed; we do find him all along of a proud and an implacable ſpirit which violently hurried him from one diſtemper to another, to his confuſion.

Now he is committed to the common Goal, and now ſome of his ſin and thoughts of remorſe do grow upon him. The melancholly of the place in which he was bringing him by degrees to a more ſerious contemplation of his wretchedneſſe: he calls for ink and paper, and writes to his Father this following Letter. *Freemans Letter to his Father*

Dear and [illegible]er Honoured Father,

IN the midſt of all the diſtreſſes of my ſad ſoul, the tenderneſſe of your love, and Fatherly indulgence doth bring with it much comfort to my diſconſolate ſpirit, which is a little revived by your loving Letter to the high Sheriffe, whereby I have this liberty to preſent the moſt dutiful condition of a penitent Son. Good Father let me upon my humble requeſt obtain your gratious pardon, and forgiveneſſe of all my former diſobedient actings, and admit me, I beſeech you into your prayers, that I may be thankful to my heavenly Father for this reſpite of life, and imploy the ſhort remainder of my dayes in Repentance, Prayer, and other holy duties, that ſo thereby I may win comfort to my poor ſoul here, & through the merits and mercies of of Chriſt my Saviour enioy evarlaſting bleſſedneſſe hereafter, which God of his infinite mercy ſvouchſafe unto you, Dear Fa-

ther, and to me your moſt affectionate and obedient Son F.S.

NOt long after, at the *Aſſizes* held for the Goal deliyery in the County of *Kent*, he was condemned to be hanged, and accordly being brought to the place of Execution, the Country came from all parts in great multitudes, to ſee a young Gentleman in the Flower of his Age, to ſuffer the pains of death for ſo unparalleld a murder. When he came to the foot of the ladder he looked ronnd him with a perplexed countenance, and immediately aſcending it, he made this ſhort Sheech unto them.

ALthough Chriſtian friends, through the heiouſneſſe of my Offence, I am become unworthy to live in this World, yet I hope ſuch will be your charity, that at this my laſt end I ſhall have your prayers. I praiſe God I am come to a ſence and ſight of my ſin; I feel the weight of my burden, and I come hither to be eaſed of it. I am uow at my Journies end, and I hope God will ſtrengthen me to look death in the face courageouſly, for that GOD who hath promiſed free pardon and remiſſion unto all penitent ſinners, through faith in Jeſus Chriſt, will by his blood purge and cleanſe my ſoul from all uncleanneſſe, and deliver me from blood guiltineſſe. Therefore once more let me intreat you once more to pray unto God for me, that I may be preſented to my heavenly Father without ſpotor wrinckle, and without blemiſh, and that he would receive me into everlaſting peace, and into the glorious Eſtate of his choſen Angels in Heaven. O Lord into thy hands I commend my ſoul, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit.

The people who before were oppreſſed with ſorow to behold ſo ſad a ſpectacle, were now relieved to ſome comfort, to ſee the penetence of the young man, and to hear what a good end he made. A Pſalm being ſung, the young man betook himſelf to a private prayer where giving many teſtimonie of devotion, he at the laſt covered his eyes with his cap, & beſeeching the Almighty to cover his ſins with the Mantle of his mercies. The ſign was given, and the hangman performed the laſt act that was due unto his Office.

It is a wonder to conſider what were the cenſures and diſcourſes of the people as in throngs they departed from the deceaſed malefactor. ſome congratulated the ſerious Religion of his tears, and the devoutneſſe of his Repentance. Others there were that pitied his youth, but moſt of them, as it is moſt common in ſuch ſad accidents, extolled the elegancy and handſomneſſe of his perſon, but when they weighed the greatneſſe of his crime, although the tears of his Father were put into the ballance to mitigate the weight, they all concluded that the ſentence of death paſſed on him, and the Execution of it, was no wages diſproportionable to the height of his Offence.

Burke

Butler and Knight. The Contents.

Nathaniel Butler *coming to London, falls into the company of looſe and diſſolute perſons; he neglects his maſters ſervice, and in proceſs of time grows acquainted with* John Knight, *and taking the advantage of his Maſters abſence he gains the opportunity to lie with him, and diſcovering in the till a round ſumme of mony, he could not content himſelfe untill he had cut his Friends throat to be maſter of it.* Robert Titchburn *Lord Mayor of* London *comes to the priſon of Newgate to him to ſee the pulſes of his conſcience, who at that time for a greater murder had a more heavy burden on his own. He prayes with him and for him, as well he might.* Butler *being found guilty was condemned to be hanged neer unto the place where he committed the murder, which accordingly was executed* Aug. 31. *in the year* 1657.

NAthaniel *Butler* was an apprentice by indenture to Mr. *Munday* in Carter lane, and was afterwards turned over to *John Abbot* a Drawer of cloath in the old Exchange, and was turned over again by him to one Mr. *Goodday* of the ſame trade in Carter lane, where note by the way, that theſe Turnovers are ſeldome good, and it is rare if one of them among twenty arrive unto the reputation of a citizen. It had been well if this *Butler* when he had exchanged his old Maſters could have changed hit vices alſo, and left his levity and laſciviouſneſſe behind him, but taking them along with him, let him never ſo many Maſters he is become a Slave to his owne paſſions, and is not onely wilfully ſeduced himſelf, but he ſecretly alſo infecteth and corrupteth others.

Mr. *worth*, a citizen of London, being gone to Briſtoll Fair upon the affairs of his own trade, took one of his apprentiſes along with him, and left behind him another apprentice, *John Knight* by name, to manage his affairs at home in his abſence, This young man being acquainted with *Butler* deſired him to be his bedfellow untill his maſter and fellow apprentice ſhould return from Briſtol. Thirteen or fourteen nights they lay together, and were very familiar and intimate. During this time, not any of Mr. *Worths* Family, *Knight* himſelf excepted, did know of *Butlers* lying in the houſe, for it was ſo cloſely carried, that he came to him about nine or ten of the clock at night,

and

and returned in the morning to his own masters house before that any one was stirring.

On the tuesday morning *Butler* accidentall observed where some baggs of money were in Mr. *Worths* house, whereupon the Tempter and tentation at once did suddenly grow upon him; nevertheless for the present he dissembled his intention, and returning, according to his custome in the evening, he could not sleep all that night.

On Wednesday he pretends extraordinery love and familiarity to his companion, in the morning they go a drinking together, and in the afternoon a fishing: the bait which the fish were caught with was made in the Tavern, but the bait which tempted and which caught *Butler* lay bagged up in the till in mr. *worths* house Returning from fishing, although they had but ill luck that afternoon, yet they were resolved to have some fish to supper however; whereupon they bought a piece of *Salmon*, and the better to digest it, having drank off three half pints of *Sack*, they retired to their lodging.

The desperate resolution which *Butler* had taken to murder his companion, the better to possesse himself of the baggs of money, did keep him waking all that night; thrice he rose up and with his prepared knife was ready to cut the throat of his companion, thrice he lay down again, the intimacy of their acquaintance, and the obligation of humanity disswading him from so impious a murder.

But whithe doth not the accursed desire and hunger after Gold inforce a man? The day breaking, he breaks through all delayes, and taking once more the fatal knife into his hand, he curteth the mouth of his Bed-fellow up to the ear, and trusting his hand into his mouth to prevent the out-cryes of murder, after a half an hour contestation with him; he at the last cuts his throat aswell as his mouth, and going down the stairs he seizeth on the money, and shifts for himself. The Maid finding a bloody shirt lying on the Counter in the shop, called in some of the Neighbours who going to the Chamber where *Knight* lay, they found him with his feet on the corner of the Bolster, and his Head traversed towards the lower end of the Bed; A lock of Hair was discovered in his right hand, and some scattering hairs were found in his left; They were all struck with amazement.

The Coroner being sent for, came immediately, and having summoned a Jury of four and twenty of the Neighbours, they did sit upon Inquiry concerning the Murder, and the Murderer. People of all degrees were admitted to go up into the

Room,

Room, and view the bloody Corps, which the next day was decently interred; In the mean time the Coroner and Jury were at a ſtand; they found the Murder, but could not find the Murderer, although many indeavours were uſed for the diſcovery, and many perſons ſecured that were ſuſpected. At the laſt a Neighbouring Apparentice who came on Wedneſday in the afternoon by Water from Hammerſmith, affirmed that on the ſame afternoon he ſaw *Iohn Knight* fiſhing with another youug man, and deſcribed him by his Perſon, and his habit. And it being informed that one *Nathaniel Butler* was a great acquaintance of *Iohn Knights*, ſome were ſent to Mr. *Goodayes* Houſe to inquire after him, he was met at a Turners ſhop at the Corner of Breadſtreet, and being demanded whither he knew one *Iohn Knight*, he preſently faultered in his Speech, and at the firſt denyed it, but afterwards acknowledged that he knew him. Hereupon they deſired him to accompany him to Milkſtreet, which he denyed, pretending extraordinary buſineſs of his Maſters, that called him another way; they perceiving that he began to be ſuſpitious of them, did follow him at a diſtance, and uſed ſo much diligence and vigilance, that one of the Martials-men ſeized on him, as he was croſſing the way from his maſters door, and bringing him to Mr. *Worths* Houſe, they ſearched him and found his Leather Drawers to be much ſtained with blood, And the *Martial* of the City going in his own perſon to his *Maſters* houſe, did break open a Trunk which *Butler* had newly bought, and finding there two baggs of money with *Mr. Worths* mark on them, he immediatly returned, and calling for a Cord he bound his hands, and carrying him before Sir *Robert Titchburn*, then Lord *Major*, he voluntarily confeſſed, that he ſaw the money on Tueſday laſt looking into the Till as he was combing his hair, and that there was 110. pounds in both baggs; he confeſſed that on Wedneſday night he came to *Mr. Worths* houſe, and was in the back-ware houſe, when the Doors was locked in. And that being in bed with *Iohn Knight*, he made proffers to cut his throat, which afterwards he effected, as aforeſaid.

Moreover he confeſſed that having opened the Till, and took out two baggs of money, he went home to his maſters houſe to bed, and took the two baggs of money into the Bed with him; And in the morning after he was up he bought a Trunk, which coſt 8. ſhillings, and put the mony in that Trunk, but was in ſuch an amazement that he knew not what to do; And that he came on Friday night to *Milkſtreet*, but knew not what to do,

He

He condemned himself in general for his ill led life, having been addicted to gaming, drinking, and abuse himself with women, and other vices, where to the Devil did inure him in order to his black or bloody sin of murder. He revealed many of his Accomplices, and what an evil Instrument he had bin for them, and gave an account of their wicked practises in wronging of their masters to their own, and their masters ruine.

The Lord *Major* having committed him to Newgate with a strong guard, he gave order that he should have the assistance of *M. Venning*, *Mr. Yearwood*, and some other *Ministers* to converse with him, and coming himself to the prison twice or thrice to him, he would pray with him, and it was always observ'd that he would be very ready in his prayer, as good reason he had so to be, having as great a cause on the same black account, to pray for himself.

Not long afterwards the Sessions began in the old Bayley, where *Butler* was arraigned for his life upon 2. Indictments, the one for *Murder*, and the other for stealing the 2. baggs of mony, to both which he pleaded guilty, and accordingly being condemned, he received this sentence; That he should be led back to the place from whence he came, and from thence carryed to the place of execution, which was appointed to be in Cheapside towards *Milkstreet*, where he committed the murder, and there be hanged by the neck until he were dead.

On *Munday*, *August* 31. about 7 of the clock in the morning he was brought in a Coach from Newgate to Cheapside, where a Gibbet was erected facing *Milkstreet* in view of the House, where he had committed the bloody murder. And there confessing himself to have bin a grievous sinner in the whole course of his life, he desired all others; especially all that had bin his Companions to take heed of sin, shewing them how horrid a thing it was to sin against God, advising them likewise above all things to beware of presumption, and to be warned by his Example, for said he, If you will go in sinfull practises, & hope for pardon, God will keep his pardon, and you shall keep your sins. Then he prayed for himself; *Mr. Yearwood* the minister being also present prayed for him; And having taken a little respite, and prayed again for himself, he commended his soul to God through Christ, and said, Now I am launcing into the Ocean of eternity, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit; The Executioner turned him off the Ladder.

And to end the Book in the same Words as we did begin it, There will be BLOOD FOR BLOOD.

This

THis truly Honourable perſon Sir Henry Hide, Brother to the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England, being ſent by King Charles the ſecond, ſoon after the Martyrdom of his bleſſed Father, upon a meſſage to the Grand Signiour, by being alſo then Conſul of the Morea, was by ſome ſiniſter information, and treacherous practiſe miſrepreſented to the Vizier, as an uncommiſſioned perſon to the Engliſh buſineſs in that Port; By the treachery and artifice of ſome of his Enemies, he is conveyed on Ship-board, and ſo brought to England, and at his arrival laid in the Tower of London; from whence after an unreaſonable and unjuſt Triall before the Commitees of Parliament, and the Council of State, they not allowing him the benefit of his defence in his moſt facile Italian Language, being a great ſtranger to his Native Country, he was brought to his Judgement, which was that he ſhould be beheaded over againſt the Old Exchange London, which was accordingly executed (Titchburn being then Sheriff) where he ſpake theſe dying words.

Sir *Henry Hide's* Speech on the Scaffold near the *Exchange*, immediately before his Execution, *March* 4. 1650.

READer, *Take notice, that this Speech following is publiſhed in thoſe very words that the Gentleman delivered them; and though there be ſome abrupt breakings off, and other expreſſions not ſo ſmooth as might have been, yet I could not with honeſty alter a word, and therefore have I tied my ſelf to his own expreſſions, that I may neither abuſe the world, or the dying man, or my ſelf.*

THe Gentleman came in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieut. of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London, and alſo in his company one of his Servants, and Dr. *Hide*.

Sir *Henry Hide.* I Am come to put in practice the Chriſtian Profeſſion, and as I owe a death to nature and ſin, now I pay it upon the ſcore of grace.

Dr. *Hide. Bleſſed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.*

Sir *H. Hide.* Looking round on the People, he ſaid, A populous City, God bleſs it, and grant they may live to his Grace. Then turning to his Man, he ſaid, *John*, I pray now though I have not been a good Mr. to you, be you a good ſervant, and accompany me with your prayers, and help me both in body and mind *John*; Have you my things about you *John?*

Then ſtaying for his ſervants, they being not on the ſcaffold, he ſaid, I had rather have my ſervants then ſtrangers.

Then the Lieut. of the Tower coming to him, he ſaid, pray Sir rejoyce with me: I thank Almighty God I am brought hither to ſuffer for him.

Lieut. of the Tower. I am glad you are ſo comforted: Gods will be fulfilled in all things.

Sir H. *Hide.* If God call me to him, and I glorifie him, it is well: I ſeek only the company of your Chriſtian prayers.

Lieut. of the Tower. I ſhall not be wanting in that, God willing.

Then the Chyrurgion coming (but not his Kinſman who was called for) he ſaid, my Kinſman is of no uſe, you may be uſeful about my body. I hope Mr. Sheriff that you'l give order I may have a little more room here.

Sheriff. Yes, yes Sir,

Sir *H. Hide.* And likewiſe for liberty of ſpeech, and that it ſhall pleaſe you (for I am not acquainted with the forms here of *England*) that I may ſpeak my own ſenſe (I am now going into the preſence of Almighty God) a very little, without any diſturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you ſhall

Sir *H. Hide John*, where is my coffin?

John. It is here Sir.

Sheriff. Sir it ſeems theſe men cannot be found.

Sir *H. Hide.* But if Mr. *Barret* could be found. After ſome ſtay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff ſpake to him ſaying.

Sheriff

Sheriff You have your liberty, you know your time.

Sir. *H. Hide* Where is the place of ſtanding, that way or this way? (pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry,)

Sheriff. Which way you pleaſe you may ſtand which way you will, but that way you muſt lie (pointing towards the Exchange,

Sir *H. Hide.* I am indifferent: it is not the way to Heaven where a man ſtands.

One brought word to him that there was no help to be had.

Sir *H Hide.* That is no hindrance to my felicity

Dr. *Hide.* God enable you that you may find that joy and comfort which is due to the glory of his holy Name; he will not forſake you that have put your truſt in him.

Sir H. *Hide* I will open my heart and my mouth with thankeſgiving (if this Gentleman pleaſe to give way.)

Then turning towards the Poultery, he put off his Hat, and ſaid, *Glory be to God on high, on Earth peace, good will to men.*

CHriſtian People, I come hither to die; I am brought hither to die; and that I may die Chriſtian-like, I humbly beſeech the aſſiſtance of your Chriſtian prayers, that by the benefit of them my paſſage may be the more eaſie: Yet becauſe men in that condition, which it hath pleaſed God to reduce me, carry more credit to their Speeches: In the diſcharge of my Duty towards God, I ſhall uſe a few words and ſo diſpatch.

I pray all of you joyn with me to praiſe this Almighty God, to whom I deſire to render all hearty thanks; as for all his mercies, ſo in particular for this, That he hath brought me hither: That whereas I owe a duty to Sin and to Nature, I can pay it upon the account of Grace. And becauſe it is fit to render an account of that Hope that is in me, I ſhall tell you, to the praiſe of Allmighty God, That I have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion, believing to be ſaved by the onely merits of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, (*putting off his Hat*) and whatſoever elſe is profeſt in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* authorized by Law; humbly beſeeching Almighty God to reſtore unto this Church her

Peace, Prosperity, and Patrimony, whereof I have been an obedient and a loving (however an unworthy) Son. And now both my Hope being confident, and my Faith perfected, there remains onely Christian Charity; Charity we carry into Heaven, Charity on earth, and that I leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have offended (whether I have or no) to forgive me, as I from the bottome of my heart do them whomsoever; blessing Almighty God for the happy advantages he takes to bring me neerer to heaven; blessing Almighty God, that he hath given me this advantage, as he hath been mercifull to me before the foundation of the World, in my Saviour; so that now he hath in mercy honoured me, with a suffering for his Name, in obedience to his Commandement.

On this day seven night I was summ'd before that Justice, which condemned me on *Friday* last, praised be Almighty God, that by this way he hath brought me the neerer to himself (*putting off his hat*) My Charge I presume is publique, as my punishment is visible: if there have been any thing in the management of my part, being unskilful, having discontinued my own Country many years, I shall beseech the Christian Charity of all you my beloved Country-men to impute unto the right part, the ignorance that is in the skilful way of managing: it was objected unto me there, that I had a vanity of delighting in strange Tongues. I was best skill'd in the *Italian*, (but free from that vanity, I thank Almighty God) and therefore I would in defence of my life (if it had been the Custom here, or the Judges favour) have used that Language.

It was objected, That I did not so freely as a thorow paced Cavalier own my Master, I was told since I came into *England* (for other skill I have not in your Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable; I hope I did not exceed the bounds of that in any thing, for God forbid that I should be ashamed of serving so good so pious, so just a Master, (*putting off his hat*) for that therein rejoyce; I humbly beseech Almighty God to fill my heart and my tongue, and all that heare me this day with thankfulness for it.

As to the business, that another construction had been made and believed here then what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any weakness was in the management,

ment, that was mine: I was ſent to ſerve and protect, not injure any: and as God acquits me of the intention in matter of Fact, as having done any manner of evil that way, however here underſtood, bleſſed be his Holy Name, (*putting off his hat*) ſo thoſe Gentlemen of the Turkey Company, if they would ſeriouſly conſider, for they know it very well, the impoſſibility of my doing them any manner of harm. Whereas that of the Embaſſie objected againſt me, that my Maſter never honoured me withall, I was never worthy of it, I was his Meſſenger, an *Internuncio* for the conſervation onely of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, untill ſuch time as he could confirm that Gentleman now Reſident, or to ſend any other; and they themſelves know that there was impoſſibility in me (as I bleſſe God there was an innocency in me) unto any ſuch intention to do them any harm; for my Maſters Commands were point blank the contrary; I was onely ſent for their good: as I never owned the Title, ſo the very Letters themſelves ſpeaking no other: I never did ſo much as think of any manner of Addreſſe unto the *Grand Signiour*, but gave him the Letter from my Maſter; the reſt of the Engliſh Nation that were there preſent, may, when they pleaſe, aſſert ſo much. This I would inſert, that thoſe Genlemen, as they have been loſers by the miſcarriages of others, may now have no breach of their charity with me; but if it be, as it ſeems it is now in this Country, a Sin to be Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when it is upon harmleſs employment, not invading any, according to his juſt Maſters Order; for indeed I have been alwayes bred up in that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incorporated into my Religion, and I have thought it a great part of the ſervice due from me to Almighty God, to ſerve the King (*putting off his hat.*) I need not make any Apology for any thing in relation to the preſent things in *England*, for were I as I ſpake before my Judges) were I as evil as my Sentence hath here made me black, it were impoſſible for me to have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *England* belonging in that imployment; but I bleſſe God for his infinite mercy in Jeſus Chriſt (*putting off his hat*) who hath brought me home to him here in this way, it was the beſt Phyſick for the curing of my Soul, and thoſe that have

done it, have no more power in then that of my body. I leave nothing behind me but what I am willing to part with all, all that I am going to is desireable: And that you may all know that Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a totall Denial of my selfe, and that there is that perfect Reformation of me within, and of my own corruptions, by the blessed assistance of his holy Spirit, I desire Almighty God in the abundance of the Bowels of his mercy in Jesus Christ not onely to forgive every Enemy, (if any such be in the world, here or whereſoever) but to bring him into his bosome so much good and particular comfort, as he may at any time, whether the Cause were just or unjust, have wished me any manner of evill, for I take him to be the happy instrument of bringing me to heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward comfort, I blesse Almighty God: (pray Gentlemen give me leave, *speaking to some that prest upon him*) I should never do it but to give satisfaction to all charitable hearts. I hav been troublesome.

Sheriff. *You have your Liberty to speak more, if you please.*

Sir *Henry Hide.* But as to that part, Master Sheriffe, that did concern the denial (as it was affirmed by Master Attourney General) of my Masters imployment. Truly Landing at *Whitehall* I told that Council, there was just Commissions to an old Officer by the blessing of God, I have by me; and I hath other good things that God hath blessed me withal, more then all the good Christians in the world, that are not the *Grand Seignior's* Slaves; And we that are Merchants abroad, we allow our selves any sufferance that may conduce to our own safety, inlargement of Trade, or preservation of what is ours. Why I had by the assistance of my gracious Master a confirmation of of my old Commission of *Consulage* in *Greece*: But as the Embassie, no more then my Credential Letters did speak, nor no more then that I attempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in those places, which is a Messenger between the own and the other King: They both unhappily died of several deaths, & both violent too. And it is a custome not unknown to you, Mr. Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practice in the world, that Princes of course, for the continuation of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the transaction of those publick

expressions

expreſſions of reciprocal affection may be performed; but for Embaſſy, God forbid I ſhould own it, I never had it, however they have uſed it as a happy meanes to bring me to God this day. I beſeech God in the bowels of my ſaviour to forgive thoſe people that have done it, I owe them no harme, ſo God pay them home with all the good of this, and an everlaſting life.

As for power I have been long abſent here in *England*, I meddle with none: ſufficient to me is Gods grace to the ſalvation of my ſoul.

I have been alwayes fearful of offending Almighty God according to the grace he hath given me: but to learn new Religion, & new Wayes, (that I muſt ſay Mr. Sheriff to you, & all others that hear me, I cannot diſpence with my conſcience to give offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it may be with your permiſſion, Mr. Sheriff) to pour out my ſoul to Almighty God in two or three words (the place is ſtraitned) if I knew wherein to give any ſatisfaction to any thing whatſoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the feare of God to doe it. I forgive them with all my ſoul, and my forgiveneſs is clear, as I am now going to receive happineſs at the hands of my Saviour: But if I thought it were ſatisfaction to Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, and all the company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come Mr. Sheriff to pay that obedience willingly; that debt I owe to Nature: to pay it upon the ſcore of a ſubject becauſe Conſcience within me tels me not, that for the intentions of ſerving my Prince, that I could deſerve ſuch a Death, though ten thouſand times more other wayes.

Dr. *Hide. There was ſome ſuſpition that you might impart the way you were upon to ſome of thoſe ſervants that were with you.*

Sir *Henry Hide*. I humbly thank you for remembring me of it; & if there be any here of the *Turky* Company this day, or any freind of theirs, I ſhall deſire them from a dying man to take this truth, that neither my brother, my innocent brother that this is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in my company, have contributed any thing to their diſturbance; it was my own buſineſs, whatſoever ath been done, that hath been to evill, or loſſe, though I deny both of them in my intentions: I come not here to accuſe any man, nor

excuse my self, but I praise God for all his deliverances; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of service, & them a great deal of justice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of mischief. *I* cannot answer objections; I find a man may be in *Turkey*, or in any place, all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God, that hath called me to the knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pray, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient death: And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompany me with your prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that passage to my Saviour whither I am going. *I* am weak of body, I have discontinued long from the Kingdom, I am unacquainted with new Forms, I have desired to serve God according to his Commandements after the Old Way: I have begged mercy of God for all my offences to him, and have had my pardon sealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour: I beg pardon of all whosoever, whether I have offended them, or no: *I* truly forgive them, and have besought Almighty God to pour his blessings upon them. I accuse no man, I find fault nor quarrel with no man, neither with the persons that were the occasions, they were but instruments; neither at the persons condemning. I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon my self, and I beseech Almighty God, that *I* may be the last that may suffer upon this score, or upon any other.

Master Sheriff. If there be any thing wherein I can give any other satisfaction to any Christian whatsoever, in any kind, as I speake in generall, I blesse God Almighty from my own heart, now so assisted by the especial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: if I can know any thing, wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full satisfaction of any whatsoever, *I* am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my extasies to Heaven, there is that glory I am going to, I beseech Almighty God, that he will give me grace to bless his Holy Name; as for all, as for Jesus Christ, and in him all things, so particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my faithfulnesse to my Master, that is the most Pious, & most just Prince in all the world. My

Maſter hath ſuffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any failing in his ſervice, the fau t is onely mine. God knowes, *I* have done nothing in the buſineſs, but by the aſſiſtance of the Merchants; I delivered my Letters, and there they lie: To other things *I* am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the grace of perſeverance in that Chriſtian Religion; in that Loyalty to my Prince; in that love to all the world, that now (being to give up my accompt to him, that) I may with comfort be received into the arms of his mercy.

If there be any thing, Maſter Sheriff, that I may give ſatisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor talent I have. I will receive my puniſhment in the way God hath prepared for me; and many wayes I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that ſee me, and many thouſands more ſince I came into *England*, not an uncivil look (we had ſtrange reports abroad) not an uncivil look from any: God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his grace into their own boſoms. And God in particular bleſs that honourable Lady, who was the occaſion of the coming of my Lords Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of thoſe glorious and eternall Meſſages of Comfort which now *I* am going to enjoy: being thankful to all thoſe that know me, and know me not, for ſince I am come hither, whereas I might have received prejudice in reſpect to my Loyalty (which is not the way, now) I have from them all received courteſie, the Lord repay them. *I* thank God I am otherwiſe bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodied into my Religion; and beſides the great deſires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the world, but that the world might ſee that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submiſſion to his Will, therefore *I* repent me not of it; but I beſeech Almighty God to bleſs and proſper all people whatſoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, ſo is my health. I have forced my ſelf in this Diſcourſe to give that ſatisfaction which I could. And I beſeech you Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, *I* am to anſwer it; and I beſeech you joyn with me in your Chriſtian prayers, that I may have a paſſage whether *I* am now going to give an accompt, not onely of every deed, but of every word.

Then

Then turning to his man.

Sir *Henry Hide*, *John*, which is the Executioner?

The Executioner being brought to him he ſaid,

Sir *Henry Hide*. Honeſt Freind I have no quarrell with you, you are the welcome inſtrument, do your work, onely let me ſee the place, that *I* may fit my ſelfe, for I have an infirm body.

Sheriff. You ſhall when you have prayed; if you pleaſe to pray firſt.

Sir *H. Hide*. I deſire to ſe the Block, I can pray afterwards. Here Mr. Executioner here's that money which is left; here is four pounds for you.

Then being ſhewed the block, he kiſſed it, ſaying,

Sir *H. Hide*. It is unworthy for me to put my head where my Maſters was, Bleſſed be God, Bleſſed be his holy Name (*putting off his hat*) I have an infirmity in my Body, but God hath enabled me inwardly. Pray, Mr. Sheriff let me have a little more room,

Sheriff. Go to prayer, and we will clear the room.

Sir *H. Hide*. *I* have (*I* thank almighty God) done thoſe Chriſtian offices belonging to me, at home, I come hither onely to dye.

Then kneeling down he ſaid the Lords prayer.

Then having praied a ſhort ſpace, he ſtood up, and turning to the Executioner, ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. Honeſt Friend, *I* pray give me directions what I am to do, and do your Office: you will cure all diſeaſes preſently; pray direct me.

Then the Executioner going to ſpread the Scarff over the block, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. Put it not on now, but by and by.

D. *Hide*. God Almighty ſtrengthen you.

Sir *H. Hide*. God reward you all.

Then the Executioner going to put up his hair under his Sattin cap, he thought he had been taking of it off; whereupon he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. Muſt I have my black Cap off? it is very cold; all theſe diſeaſes will be cured, the Lord be thanked.

Then going to lie down, his man not helping him, he ſaid,

Sir *H. Hide*. *John*, Help me a little, I pray; Did not I tell

you

you I could neither riſe nor fall? lay me down, and lift me up again

Then riſing again upon his knees, he ſpake to the Executioner, having the Ax in his hand.

Sir *H. Hide.* Pray Sir give me the Ax.

And then taking the Ax in his hand, he kiſſed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, ſaying,

Sir *H. Hide.* I will onely ſay, *Lord Jeſus receive my Soul*, and when *I* lift up my right hand do your work.

And then lying down again, after a little ſpace he lift up his right hand, and the Executioner at one ſtroak ſevered his head from his body.

THis Venerable Doctor Hewit *being famed for his great piety and learning, and reſolute defence of the Proteſtant Religion, which he manifeſted in his ſermons at* Saint Gregories *by* St. Pauls, *where he was Paſtor, and alſo by a blameleſſe converſation added thereto, beſides that he was obnoxious to the Uſurper, by reaſon of his Marriage, with the Right Honourable the Earl of* Lindeſey's *Siſter, was deſigned by the bloody Tyrant the pretended Protector, for a ſacrifice to his unſatiable and reſtleſs Cruelty; He is therewith ſecured, and tryed before a High Court of Juſtice, whoſe Authority he denyed as Legal, and inſiſted upon his own innocency, and the unwarrantableneſſe of their proceedings. That Monſtrous Court take him at* 3. *defaults, in not anſwering and pleading directly to their charge, and condemn him, which was accordingly performed on the* 8. *day of* June 1658. *on* Tower-Hill, *where he ſpake as followeth.*

The manner of the Execution of that Reverend Doctor John Hewit *D. D. on the ſame Scaffold, on Tueſday the ſame* 8. *of* June 1658. *with his ſpeech before his death.*

AS ſoon as Sir *Henry Slingsby's* body was removed, as is aforeſaid, Doctor *Hewit* was brought upon the ſcaffold, whither being come (together with Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmſtry*, and Mr. *Barwick*) he fell upon his knees, and prayed privately for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour; After that he prayed audibly for a good ſpace.

After

After which prayer he addreſſed himſelf to the people in a ſpeech which continued above the ſpace of an hour, the ſubſtance of which ſpeech was as followeth.

I am become a publick ſpectacle to Men and Angels, and (*I* hope) God, who is Omniſcient, is now beholding me with much pity, and great mercy and compaſſion; and the more, becauſe *I* am now come to that end that his own Son came into the world to, To bear witneſſe to the truth: he himſelf ſaid, *For this end was I born, for this cauſe came I into the world, that I ſhould bear witneſs to the truth*: *I* was brought into the world (the Chriſtian world) for to bear witneſs to the truth of the Goſpel, as a common Chriſtian; I was brought into the world (the Church) as a Miniſter of his bleſſed Word and Sacraments; [Bleſſed be his Name for that honour and dignity;] and *I* came into the world to die more immediately for the teſtimony of JESUS, which God hath now called me to. I came into this world (this Commonwealth) to be a Member thereof, to bear witneſſe to the truth of the Cuſtomes; the Lawes, the Liberties, and Priviledges thereof, ſo I am a Member of the Common-wealth: And methinks it ſeems to me a ſtrange thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty, and Priviledges, and *I* pleading for the Priviledges, the Lawes, the Statutes, and the Cuſtoms of this Land, yet I ſhould die by thoſe that ſhould ſtand for the Lawes, the Statutes, and Priviledges of the Land: And I am here beheld of thoſe that plead for their Liberties, and I hope I am pitied becauſe I here give up my ſelf willingly and freely to be a State Martyr for the publick good; and *I* had rather die many deaths my ſelf, than betray my fellow-freemen to ſo many inconveniences that they might be like to ſuffer by being ſubject to the wills of them that willed me to this death.

And it is worthy remembrance, that Mr. *Sollicitour* having impeached me of Treaſon to the Commiſſioners of the Court againſt his Highneſs, I did often (when brought before the Commiſſioners) plead for the Liberties of the people of *Engl.* though I had no knowledge of the Law, yet I had inſtruction from thoſe that were learned in the Law, & had ſeveral Law-Caſes & Preſidents put into my hand, though not by them & urged ſeveral Law-Caſes, & made my appeal, Firſt for the judicature

dicature that I was to be tried by, whether it were according to Law? whether it were according to the Act? and whether it were according to the words of the ſaid Act? *I* did appeal to have the ſaid Act argued by learned Lawyers on both ſides, & then to be reſolved by his Highneſs own Council, wch was denied me. [This by the by] *I* preſſing the Argument made a ſecõd Appeal that thoſe Judges if they would ſingly give their ſeveral Judgements that it was a juſt & lawful Court of Judicature, I would anſwer to my charge; I did make another Appeal to thoſe that were his Higneſs's Council, and pleaded againſt me. That if they would deliver it to me under their hands to be according to Law, *I* would then go on to plead & anſwer to the Charge. What was then ſaid further, my ſpirits being faint, I ſhall not ſay much, but only this, *I* was taken in three defaults upon formality of the Court: It ſeems it is a cuſtom in all Courts, (wch I did not know before) that if they anſwer not the third time ſpeaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of three defaults, and proceeded againſt as mute: [I had no ſuch knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of thoſe defaults; and when *I* would have pleaded, & reſolved to begin to plead, *I* was taken from the Bar. I did the next day make my Petition to the Court in the painted-Chamber, two Petitions were preſented the ſame in effect; the former the Title was miſtaken: Yet becauſe the Title was miſtaken, & no anſwer given, therefore it wa that another Petition was drawn up to the ſame effect, with a new Title given, (as I remember) preſented by the Serjeant at Arms, and one writ it over in ſuch haſte leſt they ſhould be drawn out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that *I* had not time to read it over, only I ſubſcribed my name, & there was in the front of the Petition a word leſt out, but what the word was I know not; & this was taken ſo ill, as if I put an affront & contempt upon the Court, And it was thought they would have heard me plead; and then becauſe of that miſtake, they ſent word, *I* ſhould have my anſwer when I came into the Court; & my anſwer was the ſentence of condemnation. And therefore *I* pray with all my ſoul, that God would forgive all thoſe that occaſioned the charge to be drawn againſt me: to give ſuch unjuſt things againſt me: I pray with all my ſoul, that God would forgive all thoſe that upon ſo ſlender and ſmall

ground

grounds adjudg'd me to die, taking advantage of ſuch ſimple ignorance as *I* was in. And *I* had at the very beginning of my pleading engaged their Honours, no advantage ſhould be taken againſt me to my prejudice, that in as much as *I* underſtood nothing of the Law, and having heard that a man in the nicety of the Law might be loſt in the ſeverity thereof, meerly for ſpeaking a word out of ſimple ignorance, *I* made it my prayer to them, that no advantage might be taken againſt me to the prejudice of my perſon: and there was to me a ſeeming conſent; for the Preſident told mē, there ſhould be no advantage taken againſt me: and upon theſe conſiderations *I* am afraid there was too great uncharitableneſſe. But *I* pray God forgive them from the very bottom of my ſoul, and *I* deſire that even thoſe that ſhed my blood, may have the bowels of the God of Mercy ſhed for them.

And now having given you the occaſion of my coming hither, it is fit *I* ſhould give you ſomewhat as concerning my ſelf, as *I* am a Chriſtian, and as *I* am a Clergy-man. Firſt as *I* am a Chriſtian, *I* thank God *I* was baptized to the Holy Church, ſo *I* was baptized to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that is the Church of *England*, which *I* dare ſay for purity of Doctrine, and orderly Diſcipline, till a ſad Reformation had ſpoiled the face of the Church, and made it a query, whether it were a Church or no? I ſay, it was more purely Divine and Apoſtolical, then any other Doctrine or Church in the Chriſtian world, whether Nationall, or Claſſical, or Congregational: And I muſt tell you, That as I am a Member of this Church, ſo I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and ſhall give a moſt juſt Confeſſion of my Faith, both negatively and affirmatively. Negatively, I am ſo a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects, Schiſms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion. Affirmatively ſo, that as I hold Communion with, ſo I love and honour all Chriſtians in the world, that love the ſame Lord JESUS in ſincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with thoſe truths that are abſolutely neceſſary and clearly demonſtrated in the Word of God; both in the Old and New Teſtament, though in charity diſſenting from ſome others that are not neceſſary. And I, as I am thus a Chriſtian, I hope for ſalvation through the merits

rits of Christ Jesus, his blood I relie on, his merits I trust to for salvation of my own Soul: though to this Faith Good Works are necessary; not meritorious in us, but solely made meritorious by Christ his death, by his all-sufficiency, by his satisfaction, and his righteousnes, they become meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you, I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Priviledges thereof. I must now answer something I am aspersed withall in the world.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable design, and that I had a great interest in the knowledge and practice thereof, and that, for the saving my life, I would have discovered and betraied I cannot tell what. I hope my conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an Action, and go so contrary to the practice of my profession: and I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me, as to believe I had a knowledge of that design.

Here I must come to particulars for a Plot, of having a design upon the City of *London*, for the firing of it; I so much tremble at the thought of the thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a design, (if my heart deceive me not) had I known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should have been the first discoverer of it: Nor ever had I correspondency o meetings with such persons as would have carried on such a design It is said likewise *I* entertained the Earl, the Marques of *Ormond*; To my rembrance I never saw the face of that Honourable person in my life. It is said one Lords day *I* did preach at saint *Gregories*, and the next Lords day I was at *Brussels* or *Bruges*, and kist the Kings hand, and brought I cannot tell what Orders and Instructions from him. This I shall say For these three years last past together, I have not been sixty miles from this City of *London*, and I think it is somewhat further to either of those places than threescore miles. It is said that *I* kept correspondency with one *Mallory* and *Bishop*: They are persons I have heard of their names, but never saw their faces; and to my knowledge I do not

know

know they know me, nor do I know them at all, but onely as I have heard of their name. And whoſoever elſe hath ſuggeſted ſuch things againſt me, I know not.

His Highneſs was pleaſed to tell me, *I* was like a flaming Torch in the midſt of a ſheaf of Corn: He meaning, *I* being a publick Preacher, was able to ſet the City on fire by ſedition and combuſtions, and promoting deſignes. Here truly I do ſay, and have it from many of thoſe who are Judges of the High Court, that upon examination of the buſineſs they have not found me a medler at all in theſe affairs. And truly I muſt needs ſay therefore, That it was a very uncharitable act in them (whoever they were) that brought ſuch accuſation againſt me, and irritated his Highneſs againſt me. I will not ſay it was malice, it might be zeal, but it was raſh zeal which cauſed me to be ſentenced to this place: The God of mercy pardon and forgive them all. And truly as I am a Member of the Church, and as a Member of the Community where on my behalf I have been ſpeaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himſelf did for his Diſciples when he was to be taken from them, he bleſſed them, and aſcended up to Heaven. My truſt is, in the mercy of the moſt High I ſhall not miſcarry; and however my dayes are ſhortned by this unexpected doom, and ſhall be brought untimely to the grave: I cannot go without my prayers for a bleſſing upon the people of this Land, and cannot but bleſs them all in the Name of God, and beſeech God to bleſs them in all their wayes, and his bleſſing be upon them.

FINIS.

A BRIEF CHRONICLE OF

All the chief Actions ſo fatally falling out in theſe three Kingdoms; *viz.*

England, Scotland & Ireland,

From the year, 1640. to this preſent twentieth of *November*, 1661.

CONTAINING

The unhappy Breaches, ſad Diviſions, the great Battels fought, number of men, with the Eminent Perſons of Honor and note ſlain, with ſeveral Debates and Treaties.

ALSO,

The happy Eſcape by a Wonderful deliveverance of His Majeſtie at *Worceſter*, more fully expreſſed then hitherto: with His Majeſties happy return, together with what paſſages of note hapned to this preſent *November*, 1661.

The like exact account hath not as yet been printed.

LONDON:
Printed for *William Lee*, at the *Turks-Head* in *Fleetſtreet*. 1662.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

THis uſeful Manual which hath been ſo long deſired, now offers it ſelf to your hands, the Engliſh Iliads in a nut-ſhel, being comprized in ſuch an Epitomy and Abridgement; yet with ſo much perſpicuity, faithfulneſs and truth, as would be allowance enough for a reaſonable volumn.

Even ſome ſmall and minute actions, where (like little wires that give motion to the grand Engine) they lead to the main deſign, are here regiſtred, with a moſt exact Chronology of their time; but as to paſſages of greater moment, the actions of the Field, Leagures, Stratagems, ſtorming of Towns and Caſtles, they have roomy place here, without that buſtle they made in the Kingdoms.

And that the memory of thoſe Noble and Valiant Perſons who fell, and who ſurvived this fatal War, might be orderly tranſmitted to poſterity, we have alſo inſerted them in their ſeveral ſtations of Command, Life and Death, the irreparable loſs of whom fell chiefly on the Royal and juſteſt ſide.

Abundance

To the Reader.

Abundance of Engliſh blood hath been ſhed profuſely in ſeveral Quarrels, both at home and abroad before, but never ſuch a ſlaughter as this, ſo that it paſſeth eaſie Arithmetick, which cauſeth that the groſs of the numbers ſlain, is as much (of the multitude) as could be recovered.

But behold the greateſt miſery of this War, the iſſue of it when it was paſt, was ten times worſe then the War it ſelf, like the Viper, that expires in the production of many: The Meduſa of War, brought forth a Hydra of Peace, in a Serpentine Commonwealth, and Democratical Anarchy, we had loſt what was pretended to be fought for, as ſoon as we had done fighting: ſuch our fury, ſuch our ſtrange fate.

This obliged the Collector of this Chronicle to proceed in the tracing of thoſe (till then) untrodden ſteps of Government, through all the changes and variations during the Uſurpation; wherein you ſhall finde all the moſt conſiderable paſſages and remarks of State, of the War and Treaties abroad with Forreign Princes and Commonwealths, particularly ſet down, ſo conform to the Originals, that herein you will have the pleaſure to ſee all over again, which with ſorrow you ſo lately underwent, with the happy reſtitution of His Majeſtie, and other paſſages deduced to this preſent day.

Olim hæc meminiſſe juvabit.

Thine,

Novemb 18. 1661.

W. Lee.

A Brief CHRONICLE OF THE Civil Wars OF *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, From 1640. to the end of the Year, 1661.

NO higher or greater cauſe can be aſſigned for this war (ſetting aſide the ſins of all Times and Nations, to which the Juſtice of Heaven is ſeldom long a Debtor) but the fate and cataſtrophe of Kingdoms and Monarchies, which do at certain periods of time taſte of that viciſſitude and mutability, to which other ſublunary things are more frequently ſubjected.

The ſecondary cauſes of it, are ſo many and ſo uncertain,

ſo variouſly reported and beleeved, that it would ſpend the paper allotted to this Epitome in aſcertaining them; therefore to contain and keep within the limits of this deſignment, ſomething onely ſhall be ſaid of them that was obvious to every eye, not ſavouring of partiality or affection.

Many diſorders and irregularieies there were in the State no doubt, contracted through a long and lazy peace, bolſtred up with an univerſal trade which procured a general wealth, the parent of wantonneſs; the exceſs of National riches being but as the burden which the Aſs carries, and miſtakes for provender; people being onely the better enabled to ſuſtain the future miſery with their preſent plenty.

Theſe conceived abuſes in the menage of the State, like ill Humors, where they finde an equal reſiſtance, or over power of Nature, ſunck and deſcended upon the Eccleſiaſtical regiment too impotent to ſuſtain thoſe general aſſaults which were given it. The firſt complaint of the people was male-adminiſtration and delinquency of ſome about the King; this terrified but a few, though it reached the life of that incomparable Stateſman the Earl of *Strafford*; ſome others dreading more the popular fury then their objected crimes, withdrawing and abſenting themſelves from the preſent ſtorm impending.

After the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded at Tower hill (the King being forced to aſſent to the Bill for his execution) all things run a main without any ſtop to the enſuing breach and confuſion. The Axe had but taſted of that blood, of which it ſoon after glutted it ſelf, all perſons of all ranks and conditions, King, Lords, Biſhops, Knights, Gentlemen, Miniſters, Mechanicks, ſuffering under its edge. A remarkable thing, the parallel of it being no where in our Engliſh Chronicles, but ſo that blood of *Straffords* was at laſt expiated, as will be ſeen in the ſeries of our late unhappy troubles.

When this fatal buſineſs was over, then began the cry, *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*, who were at laſt by an Act of Parliament extorted from the King devoyded and barred from ſitting and voting in the Houſe of Lords, or exerciſing any temporal Juriſdiction; to this the Parliament were the better induced, and the more ſtrongly inclined from ſeveral complaints made to them, which were before famous through the Nation, of their hard and barbarous uſage of ſeveral Miniſters and others, for the buſineſs of non-conformancy: Amongſt the reſt the caſes of Mr.

Pryn,

Pryn, Mr. *Burton*, Dr. *Baſtick* were very notorious. Theſe men at this time in the beginning of our troubles were brought from their priſons in diſtant remote parts of *England*, in triumph to *London*, and ſoon after moſt of the Biſhop committed to the Tower, nnder no leſs then a charge o. High Treaſon, which being not to be evidenced, moſt of th m were after ſome time diſm ſſed upon bail, ouely the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *Ely* were reſerved to their Juſtice.

Many honeſt Patriots there were no doubt of that party which inclined to the clipp ng and abridging the power of the Hierarchy which they ſo unhapp y miſtook, the importunities of the people made others, otherwiſe principled to ſwim with the ſtream; but no ſooner this Fit was over, but we were ſeiſed all over with the diſeaſe of a Civil War.

The King had been ſo affronted with the daily tumults which thoſe for J ſtice againſt *Straford*, and *No Bi ops* brought with them, & had ſo often moved for the prevention and remedy thereof, in vain, that having certain intelligence who the Grandees were that abetted thoſe riotous Aſſemblies, and alſo had had a hand in the Scotch Troubles, whoſe untoward iſſue and concluſion lay heavy upon his heart, he reſolved to ſeiſe them in the Parliament-houſe, and ſo bring them to a ſpeedy Trial.

This was attempted by the King, but the birds were flown, notice being given the Houſe of Common by one *Langriſh*, a Servant of the Queens, of the Kings coming thither to demand the Five Members: But the buſineſs ended not ſo, the Houſe vote it a breach of privilege, and complain o evil Counſellors about the Kings perſon, who not able or willing longer to endure thoſe indignities offered daily at h s Court gates, leaves *Whitehal*, and departs from *Hampton Court*, and ſoon after the Five Members return to their places in the Houſe, guarded thither in much bravery by the Trained Bands by water.

This added fuel to the fire, that was now ready to flame; nor could another combuſtion in the ſiſter Kingdom of *Ireland*, which broke forth in *October* ſome two moneths before give them caution to look to this at home.

The manner of the breaking forth, and the diſcovery of that Iriſh Rebellion was as followeth.

Anno Domini, 1641.

ON the 23. day of *October*, 1641. that horrid Rebellion broke forth there, that day they intended to ſeize the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Iriſh being every where elſe riſen and in arms, but the deſign was diſcovered by one *Owen Conally*, an Iriſh Gentleman by birth and family, but a retainer to Sir *John Clotworthy*, who being acquainted with the plot by one of the Rebells leaping over a ſet of pales, whether he pretended to go and eaſe himſelf, eſcaped by the favour of a dark night, ran away, and informed the Lord Juſtice *Parſons* with the whole deſign.

October. Upon this diſcovery the Lord *Mack Guire*, and one Mr. *Mac Mahon* were ſeiſed in *Dublin*, the Town, though in a moſt terrible fright, was preſently put into a poſture of defence. Advice was ſent thorowout the Kingdom of *Ireland* of the Rebellion, but all too late, for it was univerſal, and no part of the Kingdom where they were not riſen; ſo that a Proclamation againſt them, and all raiſing of Arms, was the beſt preſent remedy.

Novem. Notwithſtanding the Rebels under the command of Sir *Phelim Oneal* as General, ſeize all *Vlſter* except the Caſtle of *Eneſkelin*, ſparing for a while the Scotch Plantations there; but growing ſo numerous, that they dreaded not any ſupplies from the vicinity of *Scotland*, they at laſt force them, plunder them, and garriſon the cheif places of ſtrength.

Decem. Sir *Phelim Oneale* taketh *Dundalk*, and publiſheth his Declaration, called, *The Declaration of the Catholique Confederate Subjects of his Majeſties Kingdome of Ireland*, ſtuft with many ſhews of their Religion and Loyalty as could be; and which is notable, aſſerting that they did it to remove that Tyranny put upon their conſciences, in imitation of their fellow-ſubjects of *Scotland*, who got a priviledge by that courſe.

Jan. Tredah beſieged. Preſently after they beſieged *Tredah*, but after ſeveral encounters betwixt the beſieged, their relief being defeated at *Gillington-bridge*, by reaſon of a mutiny amongſt them and the Rebels: The Town was at laſt freed by a ſtrong aſſiſtance and ſupply ſent them from *Dublin*, under the command of Sir *Henry Tichburn*, who ſoon after, upon the diſlodgement of the Enemy from the Town, followed him, overtook him,

Febr. relieved. and routed him, recovering *Dundalk* again by ſtorm, putting all to the ſword, while *Oneale* hardly eſcaped over the river, and ſo fled.

Leave

Leave we this Kingdom in a forlorn, miſerable condition, and caſt an eye homeward. The King was departed from *Hampton Court*, thence in company with his Queen and his Daughter the Princeſs of *Aurange* to *Dover* to ſee them ſhipped for *Holland*; he returned ſtreight to *Greenwich*, from thence having the Prince in his company to *Theoballs*. Still the difference widened more and more according as he removed from *London*, to which he was importunately deſired to return by both Houſes by the members thereof who continued ſitting; though the Grandees of the Faction were well contented with what diſtance he kept from them, as rendring their pretended jealouſies and fears more and more credible to the deluded people. From *Theoballs* the miſunderſtanding ſtill increaſing betwixt the King and his Two Houſes, he removed Northward, firſt to *Royſton*, thence to *Newmarket*, and in concluſion to *York*, having received and anſwered ſeveral meſſages from the Parliament by the way. Jan. 10. The King removeth from the parliament.

The principal difference between the King and them was the Militia, this was diſputed betwixt them, the King claiming it as an unſeparable right of the Crown, and the Houſes urging the management of it for preſent ſatisfaction and ſafety; and had thereupon nominated Officers which deſignation the King diſallowed, and now the rupture was viſible.

Anno Domoni 1642.

THe Gentry and the Generality of the County of *York*, proffer to raiſe a Guard from amongſt themſelves for the Kings perſon; in the mean time, the Parliament deſire him that the Magazine might be removed from *Hull*; at which the King being diſpleaſed, goes from *York*, and demands the ſaid Town, ſtores, and Magazines therein, to be delivered to him, which the Governour, Sir *John Hotham*, preſenting himſelf on his knees upon the walls, refuſed to do, ſave, that if the King with ſome ſmall retinue would enter, he freely might. March. The King at York. Excluded Hull April.

This affront very much netled his Majeſty, ſo that he did very ſharply complain of it to the Parliament; but they rather juſtified Sir *John Hotham*, then gave the King any ſatisfaction, which made him attempt, for his Honour ſake, ſomething againſt the Town by force, in which enterpriſe ſome twenty of the Kings Guards were killed, and ſo he retreated to *Beverley*.

Beverley; where he found a very great addition of Gentlemen from all parts of the Kingdom, who with their duty, presented him their service.

May In the mean while the Parliament was intent on the business of leavying Arms, though several Patriots of both Houses did what they could to perswade to an accommodation, amongst whom Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* was one of the chief, who all along warned them of the miseries of a Civil War, and what a shame it would be to them in after times, and so consequently to all Parliaments, if when the King had condescended so far they should proceed to the effusion of blood upon so unnecessary a quarrel; he dyed soon after the first blood was drawn; and that speech of his on his death-bed is very remarkable, *Mr. Pym and Mr. Hamden* (saith he) the Grandees of the then Faction) *told me, That they thought the King so ill-beloved by his Subjects, that he could never be able to raise an Army to oppose them*, which mistake of the s cost many thousand lives.

June, the militia set on foot. Now the Militia was on foot, every where the Parliaments Cause had the precedency of affection, their Ordinances being obeyed like Acts; wherefore the King prohibited by Proclamation any Levies, Musters, or of his Subjects any where in *England*, without his command and sets on foot his Commission of Array; which the Parliament likewise inhibit to be obeyed any where, but neither of them signified any thing to those that were bent and inclined to each Cause; so that the preparations for War both of Men, Horse, Money and Arms went on very fast, especially on the Parliaments side at *London*, where all persons of all ages and Sexes contributed so excessively to the furtherance of the War, that the sum which it amounted unto is almost incredible. This money wes borrowed upon the credit of the *PVBLICK FAITH*, a name much adored then, and as much contemned and hated now.

July The King finding how the pulse of these distracted Kingdoms did beat, giving symptomes of some violent disease and distemper approaching, redoubled His instances to the Houses for peace, adjuring them to prevent that bloodshed now so threatning and imminent, and they regest the like entreaties and obrestations upon him (but not bating an ace, or receding a little from their first Demands) so that there was no hopes or likelihood of a Pacification.

His Majesty therefore having called the Gentry of *York* together

gether at a Rendezvous, proteſted his unwillingneſs, as well as unprovidedneſs for a War, deſiring (if he ſhould be thereunto compelled) their aſſiſtance in the maintenance of His moſt juſt Cauſe, and then departed for *Lincolnſhire* to *Newark*, whether he had ſent before his Letters Mandatory to my Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, charging him to deſiſt from raiſing, levying or exerciſing any forces within that County, by vertue of his Commiſſion from the Parliament, wherein nevertheleſs he had proceeded. Here the King convened the Gentlemen of this County, and made to them the like proteſtations, and having received ſome ſmall Supplies returned back again to *York*. At the ſame time the Parliament were liſting men apace, appointed their General, and the Superior Officers of the Army.

At *York* the King made the Marqueſs of *Hertford* Lieutenant General of the Weſtern Counties, intending forthwith himſelf to ſet upon *Hull* (a place he had deſigned once to have made a magazine for *Ireland* to reduce thoſe Rebells, which he had often declared to the two Houſes, but they would by no means conſent to it) but upon deliberate advice he paſt by it, onely making one attempt near it, to ſhew his juſt indignation; and to ſatisfie his Honor, where he loſt unhappily ſome twenty men, and marched directly into *Nottinghamſhire*.

About the beginning of *Auguſt* he came to *Nottingham* Town, and on the tenth of the ſame Moneth, publiſhed his Royal Proclamation, commanding and enjoyning all his Subjects to the Northward of *Trent* and twenty miles Southward, to Rendezvous at *Nottingham* the 23. of that inſtant, where he, according to the purpoſe of his Proclamation, ſet up his Standard, where appeared 5 or 6000 men. *Auguſt.* The King ſets up his Standard at Nottingham.

After a view and Muſter of theſe Royal Volunteers, the King proceeded to the nomination of a General, who was the Right Honourable the Earl of *Lindſey*, General formerly for the *Rochel* Expedition; and the Parliament made *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, their Captain General, the Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horſe, *Eſſex* about this time departed from *London* in great ſtate and magnificence. *Auguſt.*

The King leaves *Nottinghamſhire* and marched into *Staffordſhire*, thence into *Leiceſterſhire*, careſſing the Gentry all the way he went, ſo into the Confines of *Wales*, and ſate down at laſt in *Shresbury*, where he much increaſed his ſtrength; whereupon the Earl of *Eſſex* was ordered to advance towards the King, and hinder his new Leavies, having then Commiſſion to reſcue *Sept.* the King at Shrewsbury.

the King out of the hands of his evil Councellors. He marched therefore from S. *Albans* into *Northampton*, being ſtrong, to the number of 14000 men.

Portſmouth taken, Aug. 2.

Portſmouth was now taken by Sir *John Merrick*, having firſt ſurprized Southſea Caſtle, and held for the Parliament: *Collo. Goring* being forced to yield it, the Town being commanded by that Caſtle, before the Marqueſs of *Hertford* could come to the relief of it, being then beſieged in *Sherburn* by the Earl of *Bedford*; *Goring*, according to agreement, paſſing for the preſent over into *France*.

A skirmiſh in Worceſterſhire

The Earl of *Eſſex* advanceth into *Worceſterſhire*, while the Army ſtaid ſtill at *Shrewsbury*, expecting forces out of *South-wales*; to prevent the conjunction of whom, *Eſſex* ſent a party of horſe under the command of Colonel *Sands*, betwixt whom, and Prince *Rupert*, and the Lord *Byron*, happened a ſmart incounter in the lanes neer *Worceſter* City, where at firſt the Parliament Army had the better, but Prince *Rupert* falling in the Rear, forced them to leave their deſign: Colonel *Sands* was deſperately wounded, his Major *Douglaſs* was killed, with the loſs of threeſcore men, nevertheleſs, *Eſſex* haſtily advancing, the Cavaliers quitted *Worceſter*, which was Garriſon'd for the Parliament.

While the Earl of *Eſſex* ſtaid here about ſetling the *Militia*, the King paſſed directly away from *Shrewsbury*, where he had coyned money out of the Plate freely brought him by the Gentry, to *London*, having got the ſtart of *Eſſex*, who thereupon doubled his haſt after him; the King therefore reſolved to fight him, and ſtaid at *Keynton*, whether next morning came the *Eſſexians*.

Octo 23. Edg-hill Fight.

Sunday the 23 of *Octob.* being the ſame day twelvemoneth, the Iriſh Rebellion broke forth, both Armies met at the bottom of *Edge-hill*, from which the Kings forces deſcended to the fight. The Earl of *Linſey* commanded the main body, Prince *Rupert* commanded the right wing, the left was commanded by the Lord *Wilmot*. Of the Parliaments ſide, the Earl of *Eſſex* commanded the battel, Sir *Iames Ramſey* the left wing of horſe, and Sir *William Balfour*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* the left. Prince *Rupert* ſuddenly overthrew the left wing of horſe under *Ramſey*, but overcharging, and following the purſuit too far, *Eſſex* ſeeing the Kings foot deſtitute on that ſide, charged furiouſly, where the General *Lindſey* fighting with a half pike in his hand afoot, was wounded

wounded (of which he preſently died) and taken, and his Son the Lord *Willoughby* coming to his reſcue, was taken with him; The Standard-bearer alſo, Sir *Edmund Varney* (ſo valiantly the Parliamentarians preſt upon the Kings foot) was killed, and the Standard ſeized, but freed again by Sir *Iohn Smith*, who was Knighted under it, and it committed to his defence. Here was alſo killed the Noble Lord *Aubigney*, with ſundry other inferiour Officers. On the Parliaments ſide were ſlain the Lord S. *Iohn* of *Bletſo*, who died preſently of his wounds, being offered in exchange for the Lord *Willoughby*, and Col. *Tho. Eſſex* newly come from *Worceſter*. The number of the ſlain on both ſides was very neer equal, in the whole amounting to neer 5000 men, and the victory remained as equal betwixt them, the Earl of *Eſſex* lodging that night (which parted the fray) upon the field where they fought, and the King aſcending the hill from whence he came down that morning, keeping great fires all the night.

The Earl of *Eſſex* next day marched towards *Coventry*, and the King by *Ayno*, where his Army refreſhed themſelves, to *Banbury*, which was preſently delivered to him, and ſo to *Oxford*.

The King marched from *Oxford*, where by the way to *London*, came Commiſſioners from the Parliament, tendring Propoſitions, and deſiring that during the Treaty, the Kings Army ſhould march no neerer this way, to ſpin time, while *Eſſex* could recruit his Army; therefore the King advanced from *Colebrook*, and came to *Brainford*, where part of the Parliaments Army, being the Regiments of Col. *Hollis*, *Hambden*, and the L. *Brooks*, for a while maintained themſelves ſtoutly, but being over-power'd, ſome were driven into the river, and there drowned, and 300 ſlain, and as many taken priſoners. This brought a general conſternation upon the City of *London*, all ſhops were ſhut up, and all the Regiments, both Trained-Bands and Auxiliary were drawn out, ſo that the Earl of *Eſſex* had a moſt compleat and numerous Army of a ſudden. Hereupon the King preſently marched away, fearing to be incompaſſed by the Parliamentarians, over *Kingſton-bridge* (which he broke down, to ſtop the purſuit *Eſſex* made after him) to *Reading*, and ſo to *Oxford*, where he took up his Winter quarters. Novem. Nov. 13. Brainford Fight.

The Cities of *Wincheſter* and *Chicheſter* delivered to the Parliament, *Marlborough* to the King, and my Lord *Hopton* prevailed againſt the Earl of *Stamford*; ſeveral Townes taken Decemb.

for

for the King in the Weſt, others for the Parliament in the North.

Cirencester ſtormed Febr. 1. March

Cyrenceſter had been Garriſoned by the Parliament Forces of *Gloceſter*, being the midway betwixt that City and *Oxford*, upon this place Prince *Rupert* had a deſign, though his march that way was given out for the regaining of *Shudly* Caſtle, out of which Col. *Maſſey* had ſmothered the Cavaleirs with wet hay, for after he had paſſed ſome ten miles beyond *Cirenceſter* he ſuddenly returned back, and ſurpriſing the Guards, within two hours time became Maſter of the place, puting the Earl of *Stamfords* Regiment to the ſword, who made a ſtout oppoſition, taking 1100 priſoners, and 8000 Arms, and other proviſions for war, it being newly made a Magazeen. From thence the Prince came before *Gloceſter*, ſummoned the Town and departed.

My Lord Brook killed at Litchfeld.

The Lord *Brooks* and *Northampton* were in Arms againſt each other in the Counties of *Warwick* and *Stafford*, where ſeveral ſmall skirmiſhes had been between them, at laſt in *March* the Lord *Brook* came and beſieged *Litchfield Cloſe*, garriſoned by the King, and as he was viewing the approaches to it out of a window in the Town, a ſingle bullet from the Cloſe ſhot him in the head through the eye, of which he fell down dead, nevertheleſs the ſiege was continued, and the Cloſe delivered to the Parliamentarians.

In the North the Queen landed at *Bridlington* Bay with ſome ſupplies of money and Arms for the King, and with her, Lieut. Gen. *King*, ſhe was conveyed to *York*, and afterwards met the King at *Edge-hill* where the fight had been. And ſo ended this year with the ſurrender at *Malmsbury* to the Parliament again, and the defeat of the Lord *Fairfax*, who was chief of the Parliaments forces in the North of *Bramham*, by the Earls of *Newcaſtle* and *Cumberland*. *Scarborough* delivered to the King by *Brown Buſhel*.

Anno Domini, 1643.

May Litchfiel retaken by the King.

PRince *Rupert* having coaſted the Country from *Gloceſter* into *Wales*, returned back by *Litchfield*, intending to reduce it again, he had not long lain before it, but he compelled the Garriſon to ſurrender: To the releif hereof Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Brereton*, having gathered a conſiderable ſtrength marched

marched; theſe were met by part of Prince *Ruperts* forces, and ſome under the command of the valiant Earl of *Northampton*, where the ſaid releif was defeated, Sir *John Gell* routed, though the victory coſt dear, through the loſs of that brave Earl, who refuſing quarter was killed by a private Souldier. The E of Northampton ſlain.

After General *Eſſex* had recruited his Army with new ſupplies, the firſt thing he attempted was the ſiege of *Reding*, which being manfully defended by Sir *Arthur Aſton* till he received a wound on his head by the falling of a brick-bat, and the releif brought by the King himſelf from *Oxford* being worſted at *Caverſham*-Bridge, after ten days ſiege was yeilded by Col. *Fielding* (then ſubſtituted Governor) to the Parliament. April 6 Reading beſieged

In the North things went ſomething equaller then before on the Parliaments ſide, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had defeated the Kings Forces under the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* at *Wakefield*, and hoyed up the ſinking intereſt o that Cauſe. *Monmouth* likewiſe was taken by the Parliaments Forces, as alſo *Worder* Caſtle; but in the Weſt the King prevailed, my Lord *Hopton* commanded there, being a valiant and expert Royaliſt, for the Parliament the Earl of *Stamford*, and Colonel *Chidleigh*, theſe oppoſite Forces met the 16. of *May* in *Stratton*-field, where the Parliaments foot ſtood ſtifly to the buſineſs, but the Horſe either through treachery or cowardize, not ſeconding or releiving their Foot, an entire Victory fell to the Cavaleers, ſome 1500 of the Parliamentarians being ſlain and taken priſoners, but do of great account loſt on either ſide. *Chidleigh* afterwards came over to the King; and my Lord *Hopton* was made for this good ſervice Baron of *Stratton*. May 16 Stratton fight.

Now the Parliament flew high in their Conſultations at home, the Grandees working upon the ſober part of the Parliament, that this action of the Queens, in bringing over Arms, Money and other proviſions for the aſſiſtance of the King, was a dangerous, deſtructive buſineſs, wound up the anger of the Two Houſes to ſuch a pitch that the Queen was proclaimed Traytor, and at the ſame time, down went all the Croſſes throughout *England*, particularly the third of this moneth, Cheapſide-croſs was demoliſhed.

After this beginning of Reformation, the Parliament took the Solemn League and Covenant at *Weſtminſter*; this was firſt framed in *Scotland*, and was generally taken by them in the year 1639. the main drift of it was againſt the Epiſcopal June. The Covenant taken.

— Dignity,

Dignity, and was now for the mutual endearment of the two Nations (aſſiſtance being promiſed the Parliament from *Scotland*) preſſed upon all in *England*, where the Parliaments power was paramount, being taken throughout *London* the fifth of this moneth.

Hambd. killed.

The Earl of *Eſſex* advanceth from *Reading* to *Tame*, where a general ſickneſs ſeized upon the Army: during their quartering thereabout: Prince *Rupert* fell into part of their quarters, but the *Eſſexians* taking the Alarum, and drawing out, the buſineſs came to a fight in *Chalgrave* field, where Colonel *Hambden* was mortally wounded. It was obſerveable, that in this place the ſaid Colonel *Hambden* firſt liſted and trained his men in the beginning of the war.

The Lord Keeper *Littleton* having fled with the Great Seal to *Oxford*, according to the Kings Command, the Parliament voted a new Great Seal to be made.

July.

The Parliament to redreſs their affairs in the Weſt, had made Sir *William Waller* Major General of thoſe Counties, and had ſent him down with a well-furniſhed Army to meet the Kings Army under my Lord *Hopton*, who having cleared *Devonſhire*, after *Strafton* fight marched Eaſtward, where in *Somerſetſhire* Sir *William* had taken *Taunton* and *Bridgewater*. Both theſe Armies met at *Landſdown* neer *Bath*, *July* the fifth. The Cavaliers were leſs in number, but ſupplyed that with valour; the fight began about three in the afternoon, and was maintained till neer the ſame time next morning. Here my Lord *Hoptons* powder was blown up, by which he was hurt himſelf, and was compelled for want of it to quit the field, and ſhelter his Army in the *Devices*; of his ſide were loſt in this fight about a thouſand: The perſons of quality ſlain, were Sir *Bevil Greenvile*, Mr. *Leak*, my Lord *Denicourts* ſon, Mr. *Barker*, Mr. *Lower*, and other Gentlemen: The loſs of private ſouldiers was as great on Sir *Williams* ſide, but no perſons of extraordinary note.

Landſdown Fight. July 5.

Upon my Lord *Hoptons* taking into the *Devices*, Sir *William Waller* preſently purſued him, and cooped him up, whereupon a Meſſenger was diſpatcht to the King, to inform him of the deſperate condition my Lord was in, if not timely relieved. Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Carnarvan*, and my Lord *Wilmot*, were ſent preſently with a party of fifteen hundred horſe, who made

made ſuch expedition, that on the thirteenth of *July*, by break of day, they preſented themſelves alike to beſiegers and the beſieged (to whom they gave a ſignal of their relief) upon a riſing ground, and preſently in an entire body charged Sir *Williams* Army, being received by Sir *Arthur Hazelrigs* Curaziers at firſt; but they being broken, the Fortune of the day ſoon fell to the Royaliſts: The Parliaments Foot, after a little execution done upon them, (the beſieged alſo being ready to fall upon them) laid down their Arms, and ſubmitted: Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *Arthur*, with much difficulty, and greater ſpeed, eſcaped, and came throughout to *London* with the bad news. Here were ſlain neer a thouſand men, four thouſand taken, four braſs Guns, twenty eight Colours of Foot, and nine Corners. July

This loſs ſoon reduced *Briſtol* into the Kings hands, being delivered by Colonel *Fiennes* after three dayes ſiege; for which ſurrender he had like to have loſt his head. July 27. Briſtol ſurrendred.

Theſe ſucceſſes drew the King into the Weſt, where *Dorcheſter*, *Portland*, *Weymouth*, and *Melcomb*, ſubmitted themſelves: The like in the North, *Beverley* taken by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, *Bedford*, *Appleford* and *Barnſtable*, ſurrendred; and after a little diſpute before *Exeter*, and ſome Granadoes thrown in, and firing part of the Suburbs, the great Sconce being taken in ſtorm, that City was delivered to Prince *Maurice*, and Sir *John Berkley* made Governour. Exeter delivered. Auguſt.

It was therefore concluded to ſet upon *Gloceſter*, being the only conſiderable place that held out for the Parliament in the Weſt, and lay very inconvenient, hindriug the intercourſe betwixt *Wales* and the Kings Countryes; the King therefore the tenth of *Auguſt* came himſelf from *Oxford* in perſon before it with a Royal Army, (while it was hardly imaginable where the Parliament could raiſe another Army) and that done, to march for *London*, which proved a fatal miſtake to the King, for if he had gone directly for *London*, there was no oppoſition in readineſs againſt him, nor any place to ſtay him. The King therefore ſummons *Gloceſter*, to which the Governor and Mayor return a negative anſwer; ſo the Guns were ſet on work, many attempts on both ſides, till the beſieged had little or no ammunition left them, when on the eighth of *September*, *Eſſex* having made up an Army with the Trained-Bands of *London*, and new raiſed men in the reſpective *Militia*'s and aſſociated 10 Gloceſter beſieged. Gloceſter relieved. Sept. 8.

aſſociated Counties, then entirely at the Parliaments devotion, came to the releif of it, having been encountred at *Stow* in the *Would* by ſeveral parties of Horſe under Prince *Rupert*, but he could not be ſtopt from advancing. Being come within five miles of *Gloceſter*, upon the brim of a ſteep hill he diſcharged two pieces of Canon, as a ſignal of their releif, which was anſwered by the Town, whereupon the King drew off from before the ſiege, and marched haſtily away, intending to intercept *Eſſex* from returning, his men being almoſt wearied, and tired out with their hard march and weather. But *Eſſex* having releived the Town, with all manner of proviſion, directed his march back again, and falling into *Cirenceſter*, from whence the King diſlodged the day before, and had left ſome baggage behinde him, took 400 priſoners, and the next day marched towards *Newbery*, and by the way was attaqued in *Auborn* Chaſe, by ſeveral Squadrons of the Kings Horſe; here was killed that French Marqueſs Mouſ. *De la Vejuville*, having behaved himſelf valiantly.

Auborn Chaſe fight. Sept. 19.

The next day the King poſſeſt himſelf of *Newberry*, the place *Eſſex* aimed at, ſo that both Armies met here, and began the fight early in the morning; abundance of reſolution and valour, was manifeſted on both ſides, but eſpecially the Trained Bands of *London*, performed far beyond releif. Prince *Rupert* was repelled and beaten back to the right wing of the Kings Army, but returned again to the charge with greater fury. This Battel, like *Edge-hill* was dubious as to the ſucceſs, but ſomething more bloody. The Kings General here was the Lord *Ruthen*, made lately Earl of *Brentford*. On the Kings ſide were ſlain near 2500 men, among whom were the Earl of *Carnarven*, who had done the King ſpecial ſervice, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the learned Lord *Faulkland* very near the Kings perſon, with Col. *Conſtable*. Of the Parliaments ſide, not any of note ſlain, ſave Col. *Tucker*, and ſome few Officers, the number of their ſlain being near 3500 men. After the fight was over in the field, a party of Horſe under the command of Col. *Hurrie* followed the Parliament Army in the Lanes toward *Reading*, and put them into ſome diſorder, but the body facing about they were repelled back again with loſs: And ſo the Parliamentarians to *Reading*, the Trained Bands to *London*, whether ſoon followed the General, and the King returned to *Oxford*.

Newb. firſt fight. Sept. 20.

This moneth the King preſſed by his Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland*,

Ireland, who were not able to ſubſiſt longer under the war, conclude a Ceſſation with the Iriſh Rebels, and in *November* following received a Supply of 3000 men of his Proteſtant Army which landed in *Wales*, under the command of Sir *Michael Ernely*, the renowned Col. *Monk* (now Duke of *Albemarle*) and others, which being by Prince *Ruperts* order divided into other Regiments were made unſerviceable; pat of them, with the ſaid Colonel being be ng ſurpriſed at *Nantwich*, by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. Novemb

Mr. *Pym* a great ſtickler of the Faction, and the onely Grandee of the times died. *Hawarden*, *Arundel* and *Beeſton* Caſtles rendred to the King, *Grafton* Houſe taken by the Parliament, and *Arundel* in the next Month taken again by Sir *William Waller*. Decemb 8.

Now according to ſtipulation and Compact, the *Scots* enter *England* with an Army of 2000 in maintenance and purſuance of the end of the Covenant, againſt this invaſion the King proteſted as a Rebellion, and ſent the Marqueſs *Hamilton* priſoner to *Pendennis*, as having deceived the truſt the King put in him, he all along ſuggeſting that the *Scots* would never attempt ſuch a thing, and yet maintaining correſpondencies with the cheif of that Cabal. Several Towns and Caſtles loſt and taken by both parties. January

Anno Domini, 1644.

SIR *William Waller* after his reducement of *Arundel* Caſtle, marched to finde out my Lord *Hopton*, to cry quits with him for his defeat at *Roundway* Down, both Armies were near one another a good ſpace, for my Lord hovered about *Winchester* and thoſe parts; at *Brandon* Heath near *Alesford*, *Hopton* was drawn up (having a little before in his intended march to the releif of *Arundel* beaten Col. *Norton* into *Chicheſter*, who endeavoured to impede him) and ſtood ready to receive Sir *William*, who had taken the advantage of a hill, from which the Cavaliers with fury beat him and drove him to another, where under the ſhelter of ſome buſhes and trees, he ſo galled the Kings Horſe that they were forced in diſorder to retreat on their foot. There was a hollow betwixt both Bodies which each endeavouring to gain, many men found it for their graves on both ſides. My Lord *Hopton* therefore ſeeing the ſlaughter Mar. 29. Cherrington Fight.

that

that was made, and likely to continue upon his men, timely drew off his Artillery and Canon, towards *Wincheſter*, and then wheeling about marched for *Baſing*, and ſo preſently to *Oxford*: In this fight was killed on the Kings part, that valiant perſon *Iohn* Lord *Stuart*, ſecond Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, who died at *Abbington* of his wounds received: Here Sir *Iohn Smith*, Col. *Sandys*, Col. *Scot*, and Col. *Manwaring*, with divers other perſons of quality wounded, among whom was Sir *Edward Stawell*, eldeſt ſon to Sir *Iohn*, and Sir *Henry*, now Lord *Bard*, beſides private ſouldiers above 1400. Of the Parliaments ſide few men of note, killed about 900 common ſouldiers; Colonel *Dolbier* wounded, and Colonel *Thompſons* leg ſhot off by a Canon bullet.

April. The Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Waller*, (who had followed my Lord *Hopton* to *Baſing*) and there ſhewed a mind of beſieging the Houſe, now joyned their Armies together, amounting to a very great ſtrength, with intention to ſet upon the King at *Oxford*; wherefore the Queen was ſent away with a ſufficient Convoy to *Exeter*; in the mean time *Eſſex* plunders *Abbington*, and makes a Garriſon of it afterwards. The King, in the mean while, marcheth with his Army from *Oxford* to *Worceſter*, which cauſed the two Parliament Generals to divide their forces again, *Waller* *April.* was to go after the King, as they termed it, *A King-catching*, while *Eſſex* marched with another gallant Army into the Weſt, which was totally loſt from the Parliament. The King had but few forces about him, by reaſon that Prince *Rupert* was ſent with the greateſt part of the Army to the relief of *York*, then beſieged by the joynt power of three Armies, the Scots, *Manchеſters*, and *Fairfaxes*. Prince *Rupert* in his way ſtorms *Bolton*, and plunders it.

June. The King having traverſed his grouud, came back again from *Worceſter*, and Sir *William Waller* from out of the skirts of *Glo-* *Cropre-* *ceſterſhire*, was ready at his heels; ſo he overtook him neer *Ban-* *dy bridg* *bury*, at a place called *Cropredy-Bridge*, *Waller* drew up in Batta- *Fight.* lia on a hill, expecting the advantage of the Kings paſſing the *June 29.* Bridge, which the King adventuring to do, *Waller* deſcends from his Poſt, and falls upon the Kings Rear beyond the Bridge, where he was ſo gallantly received by the Earls of *Cleveland* and *Northampton*, that he was quite routed, 600 kill'd, and 700 taken priſoners, his Train of Artillery, and many of his Officers, ſo that Sir *William* was forced to fly to have recourſe to *London* for another recruit.

It

It was therefore resolved upon this defeat of *Waller*, that the Kng should immediately follow the Earl of *Essex*, who was advanced so far, that the Queen who was delivered of the Princess *Henrietta* at *Exeter*, the sixteenth of *June*, in the moneth of *July*, was fain to be gone from *Exeter* for fear of a siege, and carry the young Lady along with her into *France*, where she landed on the 25th at *Brest* in *Britany*. At the beginning of *August* the King had overtaken the Earl of *Essex* at *Lestithel*, his forces in so ill a condition through their long march, and their want of necessaries which the Country people kept from them, that it was concluded an easie thing to conquer them: The King therefore resolved to coop them up, and keep all manner of provisions from them. After two or three daies league in this manner, the Parliament horse broke through the Kings Army by night; the General, and the Lord *Roberts*, at whose instance this expedition was undertaken, got by boat from *Foy* to *Plimouth*, and the foot being destitute, and deserted by the horse, under the Command of Major General *Skippon*, came to a Capitulation, by which it was agreed, they should render their Arms, Ammunition, Artillery, and Stores, into the hands of the King, and have liberty, as many as would, to pass home, they engaging never more to bear Arms against the King; so that by this defeat the Parliament were quite undone in the West, as to present appearance.

Leistithiel surrender.

Aug. 5. The Earl of Essex vanquished in Cornwal.

But though success crowned the King here, it failed him as much in the North, whether Prince *Rupert* was advanced, as was said before, for the relief of *York*: For upon notice of the Princes approach, having with him the bravest Army that ever was seen in *England*, both for number and persons, The Confederate Forces of Scotch and English drew off from before the City, and drew up into a fighting posture. On the 2 of *July*, the Marques of *Newcastle* & the Prince joyned their forces together: On the third, both Armies met one another upon a great plain, called *Marston-Moor*; the Prince being General, commanded the right wing, General *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Col. *Tillier*, the main body, and my Lord of *Newcastle* the left wing, who had a stout Regiment of White-coats, called his Lambs. At the first onset the Prince totally routed the Scots, who were opposed to him, and out of desire of revenge for their unnatural siding with the Parliament of *England*, pursued them so far, that he came not back time enough to the assistance of his own: But most remarkable was the va-

July 3. Marston Moor Fight.

lour of the Engliſh under *Mancheſter*, led by Lievtenant General *Cromwell*, who being the Reſerve of the Army, when the Prince was ſo far ingaged, fell in ſo impetuouſly with the Curaziers, that they bore down all before them; the field was now almoſt cleared, the Scots and *Fairfaxes* men on one ſide being fled, and giving the day for loſt, and the main body of the Kings being diſcomfited, and Prince *Rupert* juſt returned to ſee the overthrow, ſo that there was none ſtanding in the field, ſave only my Lord of *Newcaſtles* men, upon whoſe Lambs a terrible ſlaughter was committed, while they diſcharged the parts of valiant, expert, and Loyal Subjects, refuſing quarter, and caſting themſelves into rings, till there were very few of them left; and it had been a ſhame for the enemy to have killed ſuch gallant and brave perſons. In concluſion, the *Cromwellians* prevailed, killing of the Kings Army 4000 men, and rather more priſoners: The ſlaughter that was on the Parliaments ſide was 5000, which fell moſt upon the Scots, on whom the Prince did fierce execution.

4000 killed at *Marſton Moor.* July 16.

The Fight being thus over, which was the bloodieſt of all the Wars, Prince *Rupert* fled into *Lancaſhire*, and ſo Weſtward, and the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, and the other Lords with him, took ſhipping at *Newcaſtle*, and departed the Kingdome, and ſoon after *York* rendred it ſelf, by its Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham*, to the Parliament.

York yielded to the Parliament.

During the Kings abſence in the Weſt, and the Princes in the North, Sir *William Waller* had recruited himſelf, and joyned with the forces of Col. *Norton*, and Col. *Morley*, who had drawn down before *Baſing*, a houſe of the Marqueſs of *Wincheſters*, garriſon'd by him, and kept for the King, which being diſtreſſed, for want both of Ammunition and proviſion, was diſtreſſed by the enemy; many brave ſalleys they made, and a multitude of men they ſlew, ſo that it was afterwards called *Baſting-Houſe*. *Waller* was reſolved not to riſe, coſt what it would; at length relief was put into it, under the conduct of Col. *Gage*, nevertheleſs he perſiſted in the enterpriſe: Till after *Newbery* fight, the King marching that way, the forces left to block it up, roſe and departed without it; a little before which *Banbury* ſiege was alſo raiſed by the ſaid Col. *Gage*, afterwards made Governour of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Northampton*.

Baſing-Houſe beſieged

Siege of Baſing raiſed.

Hitherto the King ſeemed to have fortune inclineable to him, ſaving in that unfortunate buſineſs of *Marſton-Moor*. Now the caſe began to be diſputed, *Eſſex* had raiſed another Army, aided alſo

alſo by *Waller*, and other forces, reſolved to fight the King; ſo it came to another battel at the ſame place of *Newbury*; the Parliamentarians to revenge their diſgrace at *Leſtithiel*, the Cavaliers to repair their loſs at *Marſton-Moor*, it was a cruel fight, only no more were killed in this then in the former, what advantage was lay on *Eſſexes* ſide; few men of note were ſlain on either ſide, ſave Sir *William S. Leger* of the Kings, and a Colonel of Foot of the Parliaments. The Earl of *Cleveland* making good the Kings retreat, was taken priſoner, and had it not been for the darkneſs of the night, the King had hardly eſcaped them: Sir *George Liſle* performed here ſignal ſervice for the King, and the Trained-Bands for the Parliament. *Eſſex* had clearly the field, and from thence marched to the ſiege of *Dennington* Caſtle, under whoſe walls the King had ſheltered and drawn his Artillery. Nov. 27. Newberyſecond Fight.

Somewhat before this Colonel *Maſſey* had defeated and ſlain Col. *Myn*, and by intelligence with one *Kirle*, had ſurprized *Monmouth* Town, and had ſome other ſucceſſes againſt Prince *Ruperts* parties, while he ſtaid about *Briſtol*, upon deſign of new Leavies. Colonel *Maſſey* defeats *Myn*, and takes *Monmouth*.

Dennington Caſtle was, as ſaid before, but the King ſending a conſiderable force to relieve it, the beſiegers drew off, and marched away, to the great ſcandal of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Officers then in command under him.

After this ſad experience of one anothers ſtrength, the Parliament ſent Propoſitions to the King at *Oxford*, which begat the Treaty at *Vxbridge*, before the meeting whereof, the Parliament had executed Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son, their firſt Champion, for endeavouring or deſigning to render *Hull* to the King, from which he had formerly ſhut him out: As alſo Sir *Alexander Carew*, for betraying his like truſt of *Plymouth* Fort. Decemb. Hotham executed. Jan. 1.

Alſo during the deſignment of a Treaty, the Common-Prayer-Book was aboliſhed by Ordinance, and a Directory ſet up in the room thereof; and for conſummation of all, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was beheaded likewiſe. Jan. 10.

Though the project of a Treaty was now in hand, yet never was the deſign of the War carried on more fiercely and ſubtilly. The *Independents* now firſt appeared, the Army muſt be new modelled, another General, and other Officers, and no perſons, Members of the Houſe, to have any Military Command. (only *Cromwell* got himſelf excepted) This deſign was not The Army modelled, and Gen *Farfax* declared

noſed by the *Presbyterians*, who were convinced of ſome deficiency in their old Commanders, ſo that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was unanimouſly agreed upon for General, and under him all factious Sectaries, and wild principled men obtained Command, whileſt the former Officers were reduced to the condition of Reformad's, amongſt whom, not long after, they caſhiered
Jan. 11. Colonel *Maſſey*, having ſhifted him from his Government of *Gloceſter*, to a Command in the Army.

Abingdon had been garriſon'd by *Eſſex* in his expedition into the Weſt, Colonel *Gage*, the Governour of *Oxford*, had a deſign upon it, and in the attempt was killed at *Cullam* bridge.

30 The thirtieth of *January*, that fatal day, began the aforeſaid
Uxbridg Treaty. Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which continued ſome 23 daies in diſpute, without any power of the Parliament Commiſſioners to conclude without them, and ſo ended on the 22 of *Feb.*

The Parliament forces ſurprize *Shrewsbury*, but Col. *Roſſiter* is defeated in *Leiceſterſhire*, an active man for the Parliament; and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* relieves *Pontefract* Caſtle, and defeats the beſiegers, twice ſuperiour to him in number.

About this time there was a kind of Faction in the Kings Court at *Oxford*, and ſome alterations betwixt the parties concerning the Kings Councel, ſo that ſome Lords, *Savil*, *Percy*, and *Andover*, were confined, and the Parliament, that is, the Members of the ſame Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, who adhered to the King, who by the Kings Order were the year before convened at *Oxford*, were for ſome reaſons adjourned till the tenth of *October*, but that Parliament ſignified nothing.

Mar. 25. The Houſe of Commons voted, that in their new Generals Commiſſion, the words, *For Preſervation of His Majeſties Perſon*, ſhould be left out, and accordingly they were ſo; and ſo ended the year 1644. the laſt of the Kings felicity.

Anno Domini, 1645.

WE will begin this year, though we poſt-date the time, that we may recite all the exploits in *Scotland* together, with the actions of the Renowned Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, appointed Governour of the Kingdome of *Scotland*. The year before he came into *Scotland*, attended only by three men, much ado he had to paſs, the wayes being ſo ſtrictly guarded, during the Scorch Army was in *England*: At his arrival in the Highlands, being ſupplyed with a 1100 men from the Marqueſs

queſs of *Antrim* out of *Ireland*, and another addition under the Lord *Kilpont*, and the Earl of *Perths* ſon, he marched to find out the Army of the Covenanters, then gathered under the command of the Earl of *Tullibarne*, the Lords *Elch* and *Drummond*, conſiſting of a great force, into Perthſhire, where at *Tepper-Moor* he obtained a great victory, his Souldiers for want of Arms and Ammunition making uſe of the ſtones, lying advantagiouſly on the fighting ground. Here he killed no leſs then 2000 men; whereupon *Perth* City opened its Gates to the Conquerour.

To withſtand and repreſs ſo dangerous an Enemy within the bowels of the Kingdome, another Army wa raiſed, and put under more experienced Captains; in the mean while, *Montroſs* had fallen into *Argyles* Country, where he made miſerable havock, intending utterly to break the ſpirits of that people, who were ſo ſurely ingaged to *Argyles* ſide. Here the Earl of *Seaforth* followed him with an Army, and the Marqueſs of *Aogyle* had another of the other ſide; *Montroſs* therefore reſolved to fight with one firſt, and ſo fell upon that party under *Argyle*, which he totally routed, killing 1500 on the place, the reſt eſcaped, and ſo the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* bent his way after the other Army, which he defeated at *Brechin*, being newly put under the command of Colonel *Hurry*, afterwards offers battel to *Bayly*, who had another Army ready to fight him, but he waited for advantages; whereupon he marches after *Hurry*, who had recruited, and was preſſing the Lord *Gourden* (having taken *Dundee* in his way) and at *Alderne* diſcomfits him, killing 1800 and diſperſing the reſt. *Alderne Fight.*

He ſeeks our *Baily*, to whom was joyned the Earl of *Lindſey*, and at *Alesford* hills forced them to fight, utterly routed them, and obtained a remarkable victory; but that which leſſened the triumph, was the death of the Lord *Gourdon*, one that was as the right hand of *Montroſs*, a very Loyal Right Noble Gentleman, being eldeſt ſon to the Marqueſs of *Huntly*. After this, he comes to S. *Johnſtons*, where he alarum'd the Parliament there ſitting, and ſo into the *Lowlands*, where the Kirk had another Army in readineſs, under the command of the aforeſaid *Baily*. *July 22.* *Kilſith Field.*

At a place called *Kilſith*, both Armies met, and a cruel battel it was, but in concluſion ſucceſs and victory crowned *Montroſſes* head, and almoſt 6000 men were ſlain in this fight, the purſuit being eagerly followed for a great way, and the Covenan- *Aug 27.*

ters at firſt fighting very reſolutely, but the fortune of *Montroſs* ſtill prevailed. The Nobility now every where readily aſſiſting him, and the Towns and Cities declaring for him. ſo that that Kingdome which afforded men and aſſiſtance for the invaſion of another Kingdome, was not now able to defend it ſelf. The Governour, ſo was *Montroſs* dignified, being ſeized of all places almoſt of ſtrength, even as far as *Edinburgh*, where ſome Royal priſoners were delivered him. The Eſtates of *Scotland* therefore ſend for *David Leſhley*, while *Montroſs* expected forces from the King under the Lord *Digby*, which ſtaid too long, and were afterwards defeated at *Sherburn* in *Yorkſhire*. Upon the arrival of *Leſhley*, moſt of the forces under *Montroſs*, not dreading an Enemy ſo ſoon out of *England*, were departed home; ſo that *Leſhley* finding *Montroſs* in a very weak condition at *Philips-Haugh*, fell upon him before he could retreat, almoſt before his Scouts could give him intelligence, and there routs him: He at firſt reſolved to loſe his life with the field, but being perſwaded of better hopes, he reſolutely charged through, and brought the flying remains of his Army ſafe into the Highlands, where he began new Levies, but the fortune of the King failing every where, he was the next year ordered by the King then in the Scots cuſtody to disband, and depart the Kingdom. And ſo we leave him, till a more unhappy revolution of time.

The memory of this man had almoſt cauſed an Oblivion of ſome things done here, during his great ſucceſſes, for Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, for intending the delivery of *Hull*, which they had ſo unhandſomely before denied to the King, were beheaded; as alſo Sir *Alexander Carew*, and at laſt the Right Reverend Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, for many pretended crimes of innovation and diſaffection in matters of Religion, was executed the tenth of *January*. Theſe mens deaths happened in *December* and *January*, 1644. and are therefore here inſerted.

Vide Speeches page 5.

To begin therefore the year 1645. *Dennington* Caſtle was the very 25th of *March* delivered to the Parliament, which was counterpoiſed with a defeat given Col. *Maſſey* by Prince *Rupert* at *Lidbury*, being ſurprized there, and his foot routed, his horſe conſiſting moſt of Officers, with himſelf hardly eſcaped to *Gloceſter*. At the ſame time, the Army being new modelled, Lievtenant General *Cromwell* was ſent by *Fairfax*, to hinder a conjunction of forces at *Oxford* from *Worceſter*, which he did, defeating the Queens Regiment, and afterwards took *Blechington* Houſe by ſurrender, for which Col. *Windbank* was ſhot to death at *Oxford*.

April.

Not-

Notwithſtandiug which interruption, the King marched from *Oxford*, intending Northward, to recover what he had loſt there, with a very compleat Army; and coming to *Leiceſter*, then garriſon'd by Sir *Robert Pye* for the Parliament, after ſ mons refuſed, ſtormed it and took it, the Souldiers for a while plundring the Town, which had been the reſidence of a Parliament Committee f om the beginning. May 31

In the mean while, General *Fairfax* was advanced from *London* with his new modelled Army, and by Order of the Committee of both Kingdomes, had beſieged *Oxford*, where he had received a notable ſalley, but upon news of the Kings ſucceſs at *Leiceſter*, preſently raiſed his ſiege, reſolving to fight the King as ſoon as he could overtake him. June.

The King was now in a diſpute, whether he ſhould march upon his firſt intendments Northward, or ſtaying for ſome forces out of the Weſt under Colonel *Goring*, march for *London*. When he had notice of *Fairfaxes* advance after him, whom he thought to be taken up at *Oxford*; whereupon, by the ill fate of things, the King was adviſed not to delay time, but even at midnight to diſlodge from his quarters, whether *Fairfax* was neerly come, and the next morning to ſeek him out, and to give him battel. June 14.

This happened to be at *Naſeby* field, on Saturday *June* the 14. where at the firſt encounter the Kings Army had the beſt on't, his right wing of horſe diſcomfiting and overthrowing the left wing of the Parliaments under *Skippon*, taking *Ireton* the Commiſſary General priſoner; but the left wing, conſiſting of Northern horſe, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who were clearly for the Kings going Northwa ds to their own Country to relieve *Pomfret* Caſtle, made no defence at all. The King was very couragious and active in this field, but the ſame overeagerneſs of Prince *Rupert* half loſt the day, the foot being deſtitute, after ſome ſlaughter, threw down their Arms, and were taken priſoners, to the number of four or five thouſand; the Kings Coach, and in it his Cabinet, afterwards moſt diſloyally and diſhoneſtly publiſhed to the world, with other Letters and papers; all his Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, bag and baggage taken, himſelf hardly eſcaping to *Leiceſter* that night, and from thence to *Aſhby de la Zouch*. After this battel, the Kings Cauſe and Arms viſibly declined every where. Naſeby Fight.

Leiceſter regained by the Parliament upon ſurrender, while the King made haſt towards *Wales*, to the relief of *Cheſter*, and Leiceſter taken.

there to form a new Army, but *Poyntz*, *Middleton*, and *Brereton*, rising from their siege, met him at *Rowton Heath*, where in the beginning (as usual) the King had the better; but the Parliament being supplyed with fresh forces, the King was vanquished there also, and the right valiant Lord *Bernard Stuart*, Earl of *Litchfield* slain, with above six hundred more: Soon after followed the rendition of *Chester*, the King flying back to *Oxford*.

Rowlin Heath Fight. Sept. 24.

June 28. The Scots had besieged *Carlisle* almost a year after *Marston-Moor* fight, now it was surrendred by Sir *Thomas Glenham*; but the like success they had not at *Hereford*, from whence they rose with disgrace, and came and sate down soon after before *Newark*.

General *Fairfax* marched after *Naseby* fight into the West, leaving the King to pursue his ill fortunes, and took in *Bridgewater* (having before defeated General *Goring* at *Lamport*, newly raised from the siege at *Taunton* by Colonel *Welden*, who relieved the Governour Colonel *Blake*, though with some losses) as also *Bath* and *Sherburn*, and sate down before *Bristol*, which after a short siege was delivered by Prince *Rupert* upon Articles, and the said Prince, and his Brother, came soon after to *Oatlands*, in order to depart the Kingdome.

July 10. Lamport Fight.

Bristoll delivered Aug. 11.

Cromwell also came with a party to the reinforcing of the siege of *Basing*, and by smothering of wet hay, made his approaches, and stormed it, taking the Marquess of *Winchester* prisoner, with other Officers and Souldiers, to the number of 600 persons.

Basing House stormed. Sept. 14.

Novem. Several Houses, Castles, and Towns, were delivered to the Parliament, while the King kept close in *Oxford*: The Prince of *Wales* being sent West, and under the care of my Lord *Hopton*, in company with my Lord *Capel*, and others; but General *Fairfax* following him into *Cornwall*, *Hopton* accepted of conditions (after the firing of *Torrington*, and the delivery of *Lancestor*, *Saltash*, *Lizard*, *Dartmouth*, *Mount-Edge*, *Foy*, all being quitted by him gradatim) and disbanded, the Prince taking sail from *Pendennis* Castle to the Isle of *Scilly*, and thence into *France*.

January. *Hereford* was also about this time surprized by Colonel *Birch*, *Belvoir* Castle taken, all places now submitting to the power and fortune of the Parliament; and for a conclusion, *Exeter* was now delivered by Sir *John Berkley*, upon very honourable and advantagious articles, to the Lord *Fairfax*; and the Lord

Astley

Aſtley defeated at *Stow* in the *Would*, two thouſand kill'd, and taken priſoners; and ſo ended this year, the next beginning with the ſame face of affairs, ſeveral ſurrenders being made to the Parliament.

Anno Domini, 1646.

AFter the delivery of *Woodſtock*, it was not held ſafe for the King to continue longer in *Oxford*; but the ſiege approaching to that City alſo, the King diſguiſed, in the company, and as a ſervant to Colonel *John Aſhburnham*, with one Mr. *Hudſon* a *Miniſter*, by virtue of a Paſs from *Cromwell*, left *Oxford*, and ſoon after put himſelf upon the Scotch Army, then lying at the ſiege of *Newark*, who ſent him away with their Guards to *Newcaſtle*, and ſoon after the Scotch Army followed him, upon ſurrender of that Garriſon of *Newark*. April.

The King being in their hands by their perſwaſions and deſires, and his own reſolvedneſs for peace, gave Order to all his Governours to make ſuch terms as were moſt ſuitable and convenient for them, and deliver their reſpective Governments to the Parliament, that ſo the War might be at an end; whereupon, all the Garriſons in the Kings hands came to a capitulation, *Oxford*, *Farringdon*, *Wallingford*, *Borſtall-Houſe*, *Ludlow*, *Litchfield-Cloſe*, *Worceſter*, *Ragland*, *Conway*, *Pendennis*, and *Scilly* Iſle ſurrendred; at which time alſo died their former General, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and was moſt magnificently interred in *Weſtminſter* Abbey. June 3, Septem.

General *Fairfax* came in triumph to *London*, while the Treaty was on foot betwixt the Parliament and the Scots at *Newcaſtle* concerning the delivery and diſpoſal of the King. In fine, upon the price and payment of 200000 pound, the Scots perfidiouſly, after many diſputes, whereby they affirmed it unlawful and diſhonourable for them to do it, ſold their Native Prince to his Engliſh Subjects, and ſo departed over *Tweed* into *Scotland*, according to agreement. Novem.

Anno

Anno Domini, 1647.

June. THe Engliſh Commiſſioners, deputed thereto by the Parliament, having received the King from the Scots, brought him to *Holmby-Houſe*, one of his Palaces in *Northamptonſhire*, according to the ſtipulation and hypocritical ſalvo made, that the King ſhould be treated honourably; but with no attendance of his own, either ſervants or Chaplains, and a Guard upon him perpetually, till in concluſion, *Cromwell* beginning his projected Soveraignty, by an Order from him, to which the General tacitly conſented, The King was taken from the Commiſſioners, and removed by one Cornet *Joyce* from *Holdenby* to the Army, they pretending an extraordinary kindneſs to the King and his Party, even to the deceiving of the King himſelf, by their Declarations and Proteſtations for Publick Liberty.

In the mean while, the King is carried about from *Holmby* to *Childerſley*, *Newmarket*, *Royſton*, *Hatfield*, *Windſor*, in progreſs with the Army to *Caverſham*, *Maidenhead*, to *Latiner*, to *Stoke*, to *Oatlands*, being treated with a far greater ſhew of honour then the Parliament allowed him, with much hopes and many promiſes of his ſpeedy reſtitution: His Chaplains, and other perſons, engaged on his ſide, having free acceſs to him, with the free exerciſe of the Common-Prayer, *&c.* At laſt they bring him to *Hampton*-Court, where Propoſitions as bad as any they tendred, were offered to him again, but theſe for their unreaſonableneſs being rejected by the King, he being informed of a plot to murther him by ſome of the Army, fled from *Hampton*-Court privately to the *Iſle of Wight*, the ſaid Colonel *Aſhburnham* being with him in this diſguize alſo, and rendred himſelf into the hands of *Hamond*, the Governour of the ſaid Iſle, who forthwith certified the Parliament, and they preſently vote, that no more Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King, nor no Papers received from him.

While the Army were thus coaſting the King about, fell out a tumult in the City of *London*, the Apprentices and Citizens flocking down to *Weſtminſter* about the eſtabliſhing of the *Militia* in the ſame hands it ſtood before the Army had interpoſed, and by their inſtance had made the Houſes alter the perſons named the fourth of *May*, as being ſuſpected favourers of the King: Whereupon the Lords readily aſſented to the impowring thoſe of the fourth of *May*, to act as before in the *Militia*;

tia; and ſo after a little diſpute, did the Common, ſome of the ſame multitude not conſented with this, brought back the Speaker into his Chair, the Houſe being riſen, and compelled him and the Members back to the Houſe, to vote, that the King ſhould come to *London* to treat. After this tumult (which the King obſerves in his book to be juſtly retaliated upon them) the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, with ſome forty more, privately departed to the Army then at *Windſor*, complaining of the force; the other remaining, to the number of 140. meeting according to their adjournment, finding not the Speaker nor his Mace, choſe another Speaker, as did the Lords alſo, their Speaker having withdrawn himſelf likewiſe to the Army. July 6.

The Army ſeem to be highly incenſed at theſe Riots of the Citizens, and take upon them the rectifying of thoſe diſorders, the fugitive members are entertained, and conſultation is held between them whats fit to be done, while the Parliament ſitting at *Weſtminſter*; are adviſing about liſting of forces, appointing *Maſſey*, *Poyntz*, and others, for General Officers, and recall thoſe Members againſt whom the Army had exhibited a full charge.

But the Army advanceth neer *London*, ſo that all theſe preparations, and the ſtomach of the City ſoon were daſhed, and new agreements made, their Fortifications and Works to be demoliſhed, and the Army admitted to march through in triumph; ſo the fugitive Members were reſeated again with their Speaker, and all things put in the ſame bad ſtate and condition they were before, and ſeveral Lords, the Lord Mayor, ſome Aldermen, and divers Citizens of great wealth and quality, are, the one committed to the Black Rod, and the other to the Tower, ſo that now all things paſſed in both Houſes according to the diſpoſition of the Army, the Parliament being wholly ſubſervient to their deſigns, having made my Lord *Fairfax* Generaliſſimo, and Conſtable of the Tower of *London*.

In *Ireland*, after the Marqueſs of *Ormond* had delivered up by capitulation, the Government to Colonel *Iones* for the Parliament; the ſaid Colonel marched out, and fought with the Lord *Preſton*, but was forced to fly, being overpowred by him; but the buſineſs came to a ſecond encounter, neer *Trym*, where the victory fell to *Iones*, killing 5470 foot ſouldiers, taking a very great booty, and a number of priſoners; and the Lord *Inchequin* defeats another Army under the Lord *Taaf*, where were ſlain 4000 more of thoſe Rebels; and Sir *Charles Coot* gave them another June 17.

another defeat, ſo that moſt of the Towns were reduced, and the Rebellion neer extinguiſhed: The Scots therefore were deſired to retreat with their forces out of *Vlſter*.

Anno Domini, 1648.

BEgin we now with the 24th year, being the laſt of King *Charles* the Firſt, 1648. wherein the King ſeemed as formidable in his intereſt, as ever he was from the beginning of the War. The Parliament was divided, and jealouſies betwixt them and the Army encreaſed every day, Trading ſtopt, ſo that on the ninth of *April* another tumult happened in *London* by the Apprentices, who ſeized the Gates, took a *Drake* from the Lord Mayors, and planted it at *Ludgate*, but the Army horſe entring with their General at *Alderſgate*, marched to *Leaden-Hall*, and after a little skirmiſh diſperſed them: Several Petitions for reſtitution of the King came from ſeveral Counties.

But in *Wales* a ſtronger Inſurrection broke out, Major Gene-
S. Fagans Fight. May 8 ral *Laughorn*, formerly a great man for the Parliament, Colonel *Poyer*, and Colonel *Powell*, of the ſame ſide, refuſe to diſband, and preſently ſeize upon *Pembroke* Caſtle, *Tenby* Caſtle, and declare for the King; *Chepſtow* Caſtle is likewiſe taken by Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh* for the ſame ſide: Againſt theſe Colonel *Horton* is ſent with three thouſand men; *Horton* receives a bruſh, by falling with part of his men under Colonel *Fleming* into an Ambuſcado: Whereupon *Laughorn* hearing of *Cromwells* advance alſo, reſolved to fight *Horton*; ſo the buſineſs came to a fight at S. *Fagons*, where the Welſh being taken on a ſudden, not intending to fight that day, were preſently after the firſt onſet routed, above five thouſand of their eight being taken, a great many killed, and the reſt ſheltred in the two Caſtles aforeſaid. Sir *John Owen* was up in Arms in North-Wales, and had defeated the Sheriff oppoſing him, but was afterwards taken himſelf. *Cromwell* ſtorms *Tenby* Caſtle, and takes it, and after a ſhort reſiſtance, *Pembroke* yielded upon diſcretion, as to the lives of thoſe three Commanders, whereof one Colonel *Poyer* died by lot; and ſo *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, (Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh* being ſlain by the ſtorming of *Chepſtow* Caſtle which he had newly taken) marched into *Lancaſhire* to meet the Scotch Army, who under their General Duke *Hamilton*, having joyned with thoſe Engliſh forces under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* & Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, were advancing for *London* to reſtore the King. This Army conſiſted of 24000 men effective. At

At the ſame time alſo the Kentiſhmen having ſeen and heard the uſage their Neighbours of *Surrey* had for petitioning for peace, being ſome of them killed by the Army-guards in *Weſtminſter Hall*, reſolved to ask or demand with their ſword in their hands, that which the *Surrey* men had been refuſed. They roſe, to the number of ten thouſand, and had deſigned the Duke of *Richmond* for their General, which upon his refuſal, was conferred upon the Earl of *Norwich*. To ſuppreſs this riſing, whether abundance of ſtout valiant young men reſorted out of *London*, General *Fairfax* was ſent in perſon, and to gloſe with the *Londoners*, the old *Militia* was again confirmed. At *Maidſtone*, a part of the Kentiſhmen oppoſed themſelves againſt the General, maintaining the Bridge ſo reſolutely, that it came to a very hot encounter, ſo that the General was forced to alight out of his Coach, and led in his men himſelf. After they had paſſed the Bridge, they were forced to fight every hedg before they came to the Town, where the fight was continued with the like gallantry, and had any relief come, it would have been a queſtion whether it had not utterly routed the Parliament

Maidſtone Fight, June 2.

Upon this defeat, the other greater party that were at *Rocheſter*, ſlipt away to *Black-Heath*, and from thence ferried and paſſed over into *Eſſex* and made their Head-quarter at *Bow*, but the City ſtirred not in favour of them, but a party of horſe of the Army was ſent thither, where after ſome light skirmiſhes, they removed further into *Eſſex*, where many Gentlemen joyned with them, my Lord *Capel*, and others, and ſo to *Colcheſter*, whether the General preſently after followed them.

June

To ſecond this, part of the Navy revolts alſo, and ſet aſhore Col. *Rainsborough* their Commander, and *Pontefract* Caſtle was ſurprized by Col. *Morris*; and now the Parliament having ſo many irons in the fire, null thoſe Votes of non-Addreſs to the King, and reſolve of a Treaty as the beſt expedient.

The Navy revolts.

To further which purpoſe, the Prince of *Wales* having imbarqued himſelf in the Reformation, came into the *Downs* with 25 Sail of Men of War, where he landed ſome men, and had *Deal* and *Sandwich* Caſtles delivered him; but the E. of *Warwick* and Sir *George Ayſcue* making into the *Downs* together, and the Prince lacking victual, he ſet ſail for *Helvoet Sluce* (not being able to do any thing for his friends at *Colcheſter*) whether *Warwick* alſo followed him.

Auguſt.

This was not all that was done for the King, for this very ſame time the Earl of *Holland*, the D. of *Buckingham*, his brother the

July. Kingſton Inſurrection. the Lord *Francis*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and others, aſſembled at *Kingſton*, and declared for the King, being about a thouſand, and more hourly expected; but Sir *Michael Liveſey* falling upon them ſuddenly; they were forced to leave the Town, loſing that Noble Gentleman the Lord *Francis*, who refu ed quarter, and ſo ſpeeded to S. *Neots* in *Bedfordſhire*, where Colonel *Scroop* fell upon them in their quarters, killed Colonel *Dalbeir*, and took the Earl of *Holland* priſoner, with ſome forty more, (the Duke and the Earl of *Peterborough* hardly eſcaping) and diſperſed the whole party.

Preſton fight. *Aug.* 17 The Scotch Army was advanced now as far as *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, where Lievtenant General *Cromwell*, being joyned with Major General *Lambert*, awaited them. At this time alſo *Scarborough* declares for the King, Sir *Matthew Boynton* being Governour there. *Auguſt* 17. both Armies faced one another, and within two hours time the Scots begin to flinch, ſo that the brunt of the fight fell upon the Engliſh, who ſided with them. The Scots being ready to fly, the Parliament Army doubled their courage, and put them to the rout two ſeveral wayes. The next morning, being the 18th of *Auguſt*, the Scots made a ſtand, and did ſome notable execution on the purſuers, but the Army coming up, they fled again, crying *Mercy*, *Mercy*, ſo that they might be heard five miles together an end; multitudes were killed, and more taken priſoners, being in number equivalent to the Army that vanquiſhed them. Duke *Hamilton* fled firſt to *Namptwich* with three thouſand horſe, there the Country took five hundred of them, and thence to *Vttoxeter* in *Staffordſhire*, where he was taken by my Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*: *Monro* eſcaped with part of the Scotch Horſe to *Berwick*, and ſo into *Scotland*, but *Middleton* was taken by the way thither.

Cromwel firſt into Scotland After it was known which way *Hamilton* took, *Cromwell* followed after *Monro* into *Scotland*, and there begun intelligence with ſome of thoſe Scots in tendency to his after-deſign, and after they had cajoled one another, he departed into *England*; having received the thanks of the Committee of Eſtates for the ſervice he had done their Nation.

Colcheſter yielded. *Auguſt.* Upon the news of this defeat ſent in by General *Fairfax* to the beſieged in *Colcheſter*, a Councel of War was held what to do, it was once agreed, to make an eruption out, and attempt the whole Army beleaguring them; but this, through ſome ſuſpition amongſt the Souldiers of being deſerted by their Officers in the action, was fruſtrated; whereupon it came to a reſolve of

of treating with the Enemy: and ſo it was concluded (the beſieged having eaten all their horſes and the dogs in the Town) that the Officers ſhould be left to diſcretion, the ſouldiers to have their lives, and the Town to pay 14000 l. to preſerve it from plunder: Whereupon the Town being ſurrendred, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*, were ſhot to death preſently, and not long after the Lord *Capel* was beheaded by a ſentence of the High Court of Juſtice.

In the perplexity of theſe affairs, the Treaty was voted in the *Iſle of Wight*, and accordingly effectually proſecuted, the King being in a kind of Regality in the ſaid Iſle, and ſo far had it proceeded, that in *November* the Parliament voted the Kings Conceſſions to be ſufficient ground for them to procced on to the ſettlement of the Kingdome, when the Army being now Lords and Maſters through their late ſucceſs, came and put a force upon the *Houſe of Commons*, excluding above 140. and by the remnant of their faction in the Houſe, unvoted theſe Votes, and the Army next remov'd the King from *Wight* to *Hurſt* Caſtle, then to *Wincheſter*, then to *Windſor*, and ſo to Saint *Iames*, and laſt to the High Court of Juſtice, where after four times being at that dereſtable Bar, and refuſing to own their Juriſdiction, they pronounced the Sentence, and the order, place, and time of the execution was referred to Colonel *Harriſon*, *&c.* who appoint Tueſday, *Ian.* 30. before *Whitehall* gates, in the open place, where accordingly that execrable murder was perpetrated by the hands of a Vizarded Executioner, to the amazement of the whole world, and to the unexpreſſible ſorrows of this Church and Kingdome. The Kings laſt words on the Scaffold, being the ſum of the Life, Tryal, and Death of that moſt incomparable pious Prince, are here fully inſerted, to ſerve for all.

Treaty at the Iſle of Wight. October.

I ſhall

I ſhall be very little heard of any body elſe, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word to you here: Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think, that holding my peace, would make ſom men think, that I did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as to the Puniſhment: But I think it is my duty to God firſt, and then to my Country, to clear my ſelf, both as an honeſt man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian.

I *Shall begin firſt, with my* Innocency; *and, in troath, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this: For all the world knows, that I did never begin a* War *with the* two Houſes of Parliament; *and I* call God to witneſs, *unto whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their* Priviledges: *They began upon me; it is the* Militia *they began upon: They confeſs the* Militia *was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be ſhort, if any body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declaration, he will ſee clearly, that they began theſe unhappy* Troubles, *not I. So as for the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope that God will clear me out I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I ſhould, lay it upon the* two Houſes of Parliament, *there is no neceſſity of either, I hope*

they are free of this guilt; but I believe, that ill Instruments between them and me, have been the chief cauſe of all this blood-ſhed: So that as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; Yet for all this, God forbid, that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay, that Gods Judgements are juſt upon me: Many times he doth pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary: I will only ſay this, That unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffered to take effect, is puniſhed by an unjuſt Sentence upon me. *So far I have ſaid, to ſhew you,* that I am an innocent man: *Now to ſhew you,* that I am a good Chriſtian; *I hope there is a good man that will bear me witneſs, that I have forgiven all the world, and even thoſe in particular, that have been the chief cauſers of my death: Who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity muſt go further, I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great ſin in that particular; I pray God with* S Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge: *And withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdome; for my charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the laſt gaſp, the peace of the Kingdome. So (Sirs) I do wiſh with all my ſoul: (I ſee there are ſome here that will carry it further:) that they endeavour the peace of the Kingdome. (Sirs) I muſt ſhew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way. Firſt, you are out of the way, for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſts: Certainly this is an ill way, for Conqueſt, in my Opinion, is never juſt, except there be a juſt and good cauſe, either for matter of wrong, or a juſt title; and then if ye go beyond the firſt quarrel*

that

that ye have: that makes it unjuſt at the end, that was juſt at firſt: for if there be only matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great robbery; as a Pyrate ſaid to Alexander, That he was the great Robber himſelf, himſelf was but a petty Robber. *And ſo, Sirs, I do think, for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way: Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Succeſſor) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you. You muſt give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to the Scripture, (which is now out of order.) and to ſet you in a way particularly, now I cannot; but only this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this: When every Opinion is freely and clearly heard. For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore becauſe it concerns mine own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I deſire their liberty and freedome as much as any body whomſoever: But I muſt tell you, that their liberty and their freedeme conſiſt in having Government under thoſe Laws, by which their lives and theirs may be moſt their own; it is not in having a ſhare in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the people into that liberty, as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves.*

Sirs, it was for this that now I am hither come, for if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I need not have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the

Martyr of the people. Introath Sirs, I ſhall not hold you any longer, I will only ſay this to you, that I could have deſired ſome little time longer, becauſe I would have put this, what I have ſaid, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digeſted then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuſe me; I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God you take thoſe courſes, that are beſt for the good of the Kingdome, and your own Salvation.

After ſome Ejaculations he laid down his Head upon the Block, and ſtretched out his hands (*The Sign*) & had it ſevered from his body at one blow, by the Vizarded Executioner, who preſently held it up, and ſhewed it to the people: His Head and Trunk were afterwards coffined in Lead, and expoſed to publick view at S. *James*'s; till laſtly, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *London*, begged the Body to bury it, which they conducted to *Windſor* Chappel-Royal, and there interred it; with only this Inſcription upon the Coffin; *CHARLES*, KING OF *ENGLAND*, MDC. XLVIII.

January. After this moſt execrable murder, they declared themſelves to be a Free State, ſetting out a Proclamation wherein they declare, that no perſon hath Right to the Crown of *England*, aboliſhing thereby the Kingly Government, and debarring of our Right full Soveraign from any claim, *&c.* declaring him alſo a Traytor, with the reſt of the Royal Iſſue; for refuſing the publication of which the Lord Mayor *Reynoldſon* was outed, impriſoned, and fined 2000 l.

Vide ſpeech page 31. Vide ſpeech page 32. In *March* they proceed with their High Court of Juſtice, newly modelled, and a new Preſident, to the Tryal of theſe Noble perſons they had in cuſtody, about the laſt years riſings, whereof Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, were condemned to be beheaded; the *Duke*, and *Holland*, and *Capel*, were accordingly executed in the Palace-yard, the other two with much ado were pardoned. *Pontefract* Caſtle was now rendred to the Parliament by Colonel *Morris*, being the laſt Garriſon for the King in *England*.

Now they had leiſure to look towards *Ireland*, whether Lievtenant

Lievtenant General *Cromwell* was ſent with an Army of 10000 men, which landed about this time at *Dublin*, where a little before. Colonel *Iones* the Governour having received a ſupply of 1000 men had ſallied out, and beaten my Lord of *Ormond* from off the ſiege, where he lay with 20000 and upwards, through the careleſneſs and treachery of the Guards: Here were ſlain to the number of three thouſand, and five thouſand taken priſoners; this proved the loſs of all *Ireland*, which was then entirely for the King, ſave this City and *London-Derry*. Dublin freed, and the Marques of Ormond defeated

Anno Domoni 1649.

Cromwell upon his arrival, ſets preſently forward towards *Tredah*, whereinto the Lord Lievtenant *Ormond* had put a Garriſon of choice Engliſh, and ſome Iriſh; to this Town he gave three aſſaults, and was valiantly repulſed, but in concluſion of the third, the Town was entred, and man, woman, and children put to the ſword for three daies in cold bloud, with the Governour himſelf, Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a well experienced and valiant Captain.

Anno Dom. 1649. and 1650.

VPon this ſucceſs *Trim* and *Dundalk* yielded themſelves to him, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* hovering neer him with his Army, but yet not daring to attempt any thing. *Wexford* was the next Town he attaqued, which by ſtorm he took alſo, putting all in arms to the ſword; thence to *Paſſage* Fort, and ſo to *Waterford*, from whence he (conſidering the Winter approaching) drew off to quarters, having already poſſeſſion of moſt of the Towns of *Ireland*, *Limrick*, *Galloway*, *Clonmell*, and *Kilkenny* excepted, which ſoon after were reduced by him and his Succeſſor *Ireton*, and that Kingdome was wholly brought in ſubjection to the Parliament. Auguſt.

The next thing that buſied the new Commonwealth, was the affairs of *Scotland*, who had long before proclaimed the King, and were now treating with him; therefore they recalled home Lievtenant General *Cromwell*, whom upon *Fairfaxes* refuſal of going againſt the Scots, they now advanced to be General: He came *Iune* the laſt to *London*, having landed at *Briſtol* and was highly treated by the Parliament.

Doriſlaus that drew up the charge againſt the King, was killed at the *Hague*, in *May* laſt; and *Aſcham* that was ſent

on the ſame errand to the King of *Spain*, was killed alſo by ſome Engliſh men in his Inne at Supper; this did mightily inrage the new Commonwealth, that their Miniſters could no where be protected.

According to the concluſion of the Treaty between the King and his Subjects of *Scotland*, he took ſhipping at *Schiveling* in *Holland*, and landed, after ſome dangerous weather, ſafe in the *Spey* in *Scotland*, having narrowly miſt ſome of the Parliaments Frigots, that lay in wait for him. *Cromwell* therefore expedited his march, and entred *Scotland* with a well-appointed Army of 18000 men, againſt which invaſion the Scots did very much expoſtulate, and more fiercely prepared to defend themſelves.

July 22. The Engliſh Army therefore, *July* 22. advanced from *Berwick* into *Scotland*, the Scotch Army lying incamped in the fields about *Muſcleborough*, ſtrongly intrenched; divers skirmiſhes paſt, and it was wet weather, which very much incommodated the Engliſh; nevertheleſs they take two houſes by ſtorm and both Armies then faced one another, the great Guns playing on both ſides, but the Scots declined the Engagement, which the Engliſh perceiving, marched back to *Dunbar*, and in a corn field, half a mile from the Sea, in a low ground, lodged there *Septemb.* 1. whether the Scots drew and incamped in the high ground above it, making ſure of a victory; but *Cromwells* forces charging reſolutely to gain the paſs, and having maſtred it, the whole Army on a ſudden fell upon the Scots, and after an hours diſpute, though inferiour in number, routed them, killing 4000. and taking 10000 priſoners, 200 Corners and Colours, 27 Field-pieces, 10000 Arms, and three Lords: Theſe Colours, with thoſe taken at *Preſton*, were afterwards ſet up in *Weſtminſter* Hall, as alſo thoſe of *Worceſter* thereafter. The Scots quit *Leith* and *Edinborough*, which are poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, who advance to *Sterling*, and fortifie *Linlithgow*.

Several encounters, and parleys were between *Cromwell*, and Colonel *Ker*, and *Straughan*, for the Kirk alone; in one whereof *Ker* was defeated, and taken priſoner; and by the other *Straughan* was brought over to ſide with the Engliſh. *Edinborough* Caſtle had been long beſieged and undermined, but at laſt the treacherous Governour *Dundaſſe* delivered it upon Articles.

January. Colonel *Euſebius Andrews*, Sir *Henry Hide*, were beheaded about this time, and Doctor *Lewen* hanged about the matters of the King, who was ſoon after crowned King of *Scotland* at *Schoon*,

Schoon, where they had news of another loſs, the rendition of *Hume* and *Tinmtallon* Caſtle.

While the Army in *Scotland* made this progreſs, another war was breeding at home betwixt the Dutch and us: *S. Iohns* had been ſent Ambaſſador thither, and had been very highly affronted; upon his return an Act was made, prohibiting and impeding the liberty and freedome of the Dutch at Sea, which they not brooking, the buſineſs came to be decided by blows.

Anno Dom. 1651.

BLackneſs Caſtle was taken by Colonel *Monk*, and at the ſame time the Presbyterian Plot, laid by Mr. *Love*, &c. for a riſing in *Lancaſhire*, where M. G. *Harriſon* had order to attend, was diſcovered, for which the ſaid *Love*, and one Mr. *Gibbons*, were beheaded at *Tower-hill*, *Auguſt* 22.

The Scots had raiſed another Army, whereof the King was General: This Army was compounded of Cavaliers and Preſbyters, being in all 21000 men; with theſe the King marched from *Sterling* to *Torwood*, and there regularly incamped; thither came *Cromwell*, hoping to draw them out to fight, but could not, only he ſtormed *Calendar* Houſe in their view: Nevertheleſs, in the interim, Colonel *Overton*, by boats, had paſſed part of the Army from *Leith* into *Fife*, who being ſeconded by a greater force under Major General *Lambert*, the Scots being alarum'd at this unexpected invaſion, ſend down Sir *Iohn Brown* to drive them out; whereupon a bloudy fight enſued, but the victory fell to the Engliſh, neer 1500 Scots were ſlain, and 1000. with Sir *Iohn*, taken priſoners.

After the Army thus was landed on *Fifes* ſide, and had given the Kings forces a defeat, it was adviſed the King ſhould preſently deſert *Scotland*, (the Engliſh having now ſhipt moſt of their men over, and ſo given the King the advantage of two daies march from *Sterling*) and by the way of *Carliſle* ſpeedily march for *England*, which was accordingly put in execution; and after a very troubleſome march, ſome oppoſition being made at *Warrington* Bridge by Major General *Harriſon*, (ſince executed, and there worſted) on the 22 of *Auguſt*, having marched three hundred miles in three weeks time he arrived at *Worceſter* with his Army, conſiſting of 11000 foot, moſt whereof were *Highlanders*, and 3000 horſe, made up with ſome additional Engliſh, under the now Right Honourable Earl of *Shrewsbury*,

bury, Colonel *Howard*, and other Knights and Gentlemen, who had escaped with the Earl of *Derby* thither, after the defeat given the said Earl by Colonel *Lilburn* at *Wigan*.

After the King had rested his Army a while at *Worcester*, and summoned in the neighbouring Countries to a rendezvouze, in order to a conjuncture; upon which some small appearance was made (the Rebels drawing neer to attaque the City) the King betook himself to make some fortifications, such as time would permit, at *Upton* bridge, and about the Town.

By the beginning of *September*, *Cromwells* whole Army, after a sufficient refreshment, and additional forces of the Militia, which were speedily raised in every County, presented himself on every side of the City; the number of them consisted of very neer 50000 men well armed; the first places attaqued was *Upton* Bridge, which Colonel, now Sir *Edward Massey*, stoutly defended, till being over-powred, and himself wounded, he was forced to retreat, and leave the enemy free passage.

Wednesday the third of *September*, the Enemy resolved to fall on, which they did at several places; first at *Powick* bridge, whether the King himself in person went, and beat back the Brigades assigned to that post; but being necessitated to go back into the City to give other Orders, his forces lacking Ammunition, were forced to give way, and make a disorderly retreat into *Worcester*. Presently upon this, the Enemy charged furiously upon another part, where his Majesty himself in person gave notable proof of his valour, Duke *Hamilton* receiving a shot hard by him, of which he afterwards died; but fresh supplyes coming in every minute, and the slaughter falling upon the new raised men (*Cromwell* reserving his Veteranes for the last) the King quit the field: (Some impute it to *David Lesleyes* not coming with his horse to his succour in time) and drew within the walls: But the Rebels pursued their success, and having cast up a sudden battery, compelled the Fort-Royal to surrender, while another part of the Army entred at another place, and fell immediately to the plundering of the City: By six of the clock the whole Town was gained, and the streets fill'd with blood, a great slaughter being made that unfortunate day.

Between six and seven a clock, in the dusk of the evening, the King, accompanied with the chief of his Nobility, and some sixty horse, departed Northward out of *S. Martins* gate: Having rid a little way, and upon consultation held what to do

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in that diſtreſs of affairs, the Earl of *Derby* adviſed the King to fly to a houſe called *Boſcabell*, where he himſelf had found ſecurity in his flight from *Wigan* aforeſaid: To that intent, one Mr. *Giffard*, an Inhabitant thereabours, was called for, who with the aſſiſtance of one Mr. *Walker*, formerly a Scoutmaſter in the Kings Army, with ſome difficulty, (the King riding all the night) brought him to a place called the *White-Ladies*, a mile beyond *Boſcabell*, to avoid ſuſpition of ſtaying there.

At their coming to *White-Ladies* on break of day, Thurſday *Septemb.* 4. one *George Pendrill*, the youngeſt brother of the four, being awakened with the loud noyſe they made at the gates, and hearing diſtinctly Mr. *Giffards* voice calling him, ran down in his ſhirt and opened the door; whereupon the King and the Noblemen preſently entred the houſe, the Kings horſe being brought into the Hall, where another conſultation was held what ſhould be done for the ſafety of the Kings perſon in this exigence: At laſt it was concluded, that this *George* ſhould go preſently to *Tong*, and enquire what news, or whether any parties were ſtirring or no; and in the mean while one *Martin* was ſent by Colonel *Roſcanrick*, by order of the Earl of *Derby*, for *William Pendrill*, the eldeſt Brother, who preſently came, and there met his Brother *George*, who had brought *Richard* by Mr. *Giffards* order along with him, and informed the King, that the coaſt was yet clear.

Whereupon all diſpatch was made to get the King out before any further danger; the Kings hair was firſt cut off by my Lord *Wilmot*. then rounded by *William Pendrill*; and at the ſame time *Richard* had, by direction from Mr. *Giffard*, fetcht his beſt cloaths, being a jump and breeches of green courſe cloth, and a Doe-skin leather doublet, the hat was borrowed of *Humphrey Pendrill* the Miller, being an old grey one that turned up its brims; the ſhirt, which in that Country language they call an Harden, or Noggen-ſhirt, a kind of linnen that is made of the courſeſt of the hemp, was had of the aforeſaid *Martin*, *George Pendrill* lent the band, and *William Creſwell* the ſhoes, which the King having preſently unſtript himſelf of his own cloaths, did quickly put on: His Euff-coat, and linnen doubler, and a grey pair of breeches, which he wore before, he gave into his brothers hands, who forthwith buried them under ground, where they lay five weeks before they durſt take them up again. The Jewels off his arm he gave to one of Lords then departing.

Straight-

Straightwith *William Pendrill* was brought to the King by the Earl of *Derby*, and the care and preservation of his most Sacred Majesty committed to his charge, and the rest of the Brothers (the Earl himself would have staid, but there was no undertaking security for them both) so presently the Lords took their heavy leave, and departed, every one shifting for himself. The Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Talbot*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the rest of that party, being overtaken at *Newport*, in their march Northward, and routed: the Duke escaped, and found a hiding place at a friends of his Family in *Shropshire*; the rest were taken (the Earl of *Derby* most inhumanely and unjustly beheaded at *Bolton*, with Sir *Timothy Fetherston-Haugh*, and some others elsewhere) and imprisoned; only the Lord *Wilmot* (since deceased, during the Kings Exile abroad) staid behind, and was by *John Pendrill*, through many difficulties, and tryals of several places, conveyed safely to Mr. *Whitgreavs* at *Mosely*.

Now the King and his company being departed, having taken a Woodbill into his hand, went out with *Richard* into the adjoyning wood, called *Spring Coppice*. *William* departed home, and *George* and *Humphrey* went out to scout, and lay hovering about the woods to hear or see if any approached that way. You must note here, that these Brothers had taken into their assistance one *Francis Yates*, their Sisters Husband, who was also with the King in the wood, they being by profession woodcutters: But the King had not been an hour in the wood, before a party of horse, in pursuit of him, was come to *White-Ladies*, and had enquired, and found out by some of the Inhabitants, that the King with a party had been there, as they supposed, but they affirmed directly, that he was gone away with all speed from thence in the said company Northwards. Upon which words, spurr'd on by the expectation & greedines of their prey, supposing the King and his Lords were all together, they made no stay, or further inquisition or search (save only in the house) and rode away as fast as they could possible. This the King was informed of by his two aforesaid Scouts, who straggled for intelligence neer the village.

This Thursday the King continued all day in the wood, upon the ground, *Richard Pendrill* being constantly with him, and sometimes the other three: It proved to be a very rainy day, and the King was wet with the showers; thereupon *Francis Yates* his wife came into the wood, on whom the King at first

lookt

lookt ſomething dubiouſly, yet reſolutely askt her, whether ſhe could be faithful to a diſtreſſed Cavalier: To which ſhe replyed, Sir, I will die rather then diſcover you: She brought with her a blanket to keep the King dry, and his firſt meat he eat there, *viz.* a meſs of milk, eggs, and ſugar, in a black earthen cup, which the King gueſſed to be milk and apples, and ſaid he loved it very well. After he had drank ſome, and eat ſome in a Pewter ſpoon, he gave the reſt to *George*, and bid him eat it, for it was very good. There was nothing of moment paſſed this day in Court, but only his Majeſty exchanged his Woodbill for *Francis Yates* his Broom-hook, being ſomething lighter.

The King was hardly brought to faſhion himſelf to their gate, or to bend his ſtreight body down to his feet, the language in his ſtay and paſſing to *Worceſter*, he could tune pretty well; moſt of the day was ſpent in conforming him to their words, till about five a clock that evening, the King with his gallant Retinue of *Richard*, *Humphry*, *George*, and *Francis Yates*, left the wood, and betook himſelf to *Richard's* little houſe, where he went under the name of *William Jones*, a Woodcutter, newly come thither for work. At his coming, the good wife for his entertainment at ſupper, was preparing a Fricaſs of Bacon and Eggs, and while that was doing, the King held on his knees their Daughter *Nan*: He eat very little, ruminating and muſing on his intended paſſage into *Wales*.

After ſupper ended, the Mother of the *Pendrills* came and kneeled, and took her leave of the King; ſo did the reſt of his poor mean attendants, only *Richard* went along with the King, to conduct and guide him, it being then dark, and the way troubleſome.

Their intended journey was to Mr. *Wolfes* of *Madely*, ſome 5 miles diſtant from *White-Ladies*, of whom the King had a good character from his ſervant *Richard*. By the way they were put to a fright at a Mill-water, by a Miller that had taken into his protection ſome of the ſame undone party, ſo that *Richard* was forced to wade through, and the King to follow him by the ratling muſick of his leather breeches.

It was late at night before they got to *Madely*; wherefore *Richard* very confidently knockt at Mr. *Wolfes* door, which his Daughter opening, he deſired to be let in, telling her the King was with him: So they both entred, till Mr. *Wolfe* came and welcomed the King, who though wearied, and his feet extremely

tremely ſore, yet held it not convenient (of which Opinion Mr. *Wolfe* was alſo) to lodge in the houſe. Here he was informed (which was his main buſineſs) that there was no paſſage to be had over *Severn* into *Wales*, the river being ſo guarded and watched, that there was no attempting of it without extreme hazard and peril. After ſome other diſcourſes of the like tendency, the King was conveyed to an Heyloft, where he and *Richard* repoſed themſelves (though the Kings ſore feet very much troubled him) that night, and next day, being Friday, and on that night, the ſame hour they arrived, they ſet forward to *Boſcabell*, having had proviſion, and ſome money from the ſaid Mr. *Wolfe*, his Daughter alſo bringing the King into his way ſome two miles, and then ſhe returned.

At his coming to *Boſcabell*, the King was ſo wearied, his feet being bliſtered with travelling in ſuch courſe and ſtiff accourrements as he had on his legs, and lying in them, that he was ſcarce able to ſtand or go, which *Will.* wife perceiving, ſhe ſtript off his ſtockings, and cut the bliſters, and waſhed his feet, which gave the King ſome ea e.

The ſame time Colonel *Carelos*, one that made good the Kings Rear at *Worceſter*, and gave the King time to eſcape, having ſeen the laſt man killed in that lamentable fight, was alſo come to *Boſcabell*, a refuge he had uſed before, where the King met him, the Colonel moſt humbly and joyfully welcoming him to that moſt ſure retreat.

After a ſhort conference together, it was judged by them both, as the probableſt means of ſecurity, that the King ſhould betake himſelf again to the wood: Accordingly, Saturday the ſixth of September, *in the morning, they went into the wood together, the Colonel leading the way to that ſo much now celebrated Oak, where before he had been lodged himſelf:* William Pendrill *brought a Ladder, by which they got up into the boughs and branches of the tree, which were very thick, and well ſpread, and full of leaves, ſo that it was not poſſible for any to ſee through them.*

When they were both up, William *brought them up two Pillows to lye upon, where the Arms and branches were thickeſt; and the King being over-wearied with his journey and ſore travel, waxed very heavy, with a propenſity to ſleep. The Colonel to eaſe his Majeſty the beſt he could, deſired him to lay his head in his lap, and reſt the other parts of his body on the pillow, which the King did; and after he had taken a good ſleep (while* William *and his wife* Joan *went peaking up and down with anxious thoughts gathering of*

ſticks

ſticks with a Nut-hook) *awaked very hungry, and wiſhed for ſome victuals: That deſire was ſoon ſatisfied, the Colonel pulling out of his pocket a good luncheon of bread and cheeſe, which Joan had given him for provant that day, and had wrapt it up in a clean linnen cloth, of which the King fed very heartily, and was well pleaſed with it, and highly commended his good fare: Some other pittance of relief in drink he had alſo, which was put up to him in a bottle by a long hook-ſtick.*

The King intended not long to ſtay at *Boſcabell*; therefore *Richard* was ſent to one Mr. *Manwaring*, an acquaintance of Colonel *Ca elos* at *Woller Hampton*, ſome three miles from *Boſcabell*, with ſome inſtructions, and to enquire if he knew not of any ſecurity for one of the Kings ruined party; Mr. *Manwaring* returned, that himſelf could not, but would enquire if a friend of his, naming Mr. *Whitgreav* could: So *Richard* returned, and brought with him ſome wine, and other refreſhments from the Town.

Neither was *Humphrey* idle or unimployed, but was ſent abroad to lay out for intelligence, which the eaſilier to come by, he was ſent to one Captain *Broadwayes* of *Sheſnal*, a Captain of the new raiſed Militia, under pretence of paying his Miſtreſſes money for a man that was taxed upon her for that ſervice: While he was there, a Parliament Colonel came in to underſtand of *Broadwayes*, what further diſcovery was made at *White-Ladies* ſince the time the King eſcaped; to which *Broadwayes* anſwered, he could ſay nothing more to it, but there was one of that place below, that might perhaps give him better ſatisfaction. *Humphrey* was called and examined, but he reſolutely denied any knowledge wherher the King went otherwayes then Northward; *but* that party being taken, and the King not among them, made the Colonel believe he ſtaid behind, and therefore told him there was a proffer of a thouſand pound to any that would diſcover him, and did thereupon earneſtly preſs *Humphrey* about the buſineſs; but all was in vain, there was no prevailing upon his conſcience and duty. The news of this afterwards ſomething amuſed the King, but the Colonel told the King there was no danger in it, for upon his life they ſhould prove conſtant and faithful to his Majeſty.

At night, the King and the Colonel came down from the Tree, by the ſame Ladder they gat up, and was brought into *Boſcabell* garden, where he ſate in the Bower of it, and drank part of the wine which *Richard* brought from *Woller Hampton*,

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till 'twas very late. But the King was hungry again, and his appetite then ſerved him for a joynt of Mutton, though his Dame *Ioan* (ſo the King then called his Hoſt) had provided him a diſh of Chickens: To which *William* replyed, that truly he had none, and to go to the Market would be very ſuſpectful, for they uſed not to buy ſuch cheer, but if his Majeſty would have ſome, he would make bold, and borrow one of Mr. *Stauntons*: to whoſe Sheepcote he and the Colonel preſently went and fetched one and brought it home into the Cellar, where the Colonel ſtabb'd it with his dagger, and both of them dreſt it as well as they could, and brought the King up a Hind-quarter of it, which the King preſently ſliced part of into Scotch Collops, and the Colonel and he fryed betwixt them; which pleaſant paſſage yielded a merrier diſpute afterward in *France*, when it was queſtioned which of the two was the Cook or the Scullion.

The next day being Sunday, *Iohn* came to *Boſcabell* from my Lord *Wilmot*, having been ſent before to *White-Ladies*, but miſt of the King, by reaſon of his being at *Madely* then, to acquaint the King with the conveniency of Mr. *Whitgreavs* houſe, there being ſuch a ſecret place in it betwixt two walls, that a ſafer could not be imagined: Upon this news it was reſolved, that the King on Sunday night late ſhould go to *Moſely*, to the ſaid Mr. *Whitgreavs*, and the Colonel to ſhift for himſelf: All that day being Sunday, the King kept himſelf in the ſecret place where he lay that night, having been much diſcommodated through the ſhortneſs of it. As ſoon as the appointed hour was come, *Humphrey* the Miller was ready with his horſe that ſhould carry the King, for none other with ſafety and convenience could be had. This was a kind of War-horſe, that had carried many a load of proviſion, meal, and ſuch like; but now there was put on him a bridle and a ſaddle that had outworn its tree and irons.

The horſe ſtanding at the door, the King came out, intending to have [illegible]e along with him but *Iohn*; but the other five brothers inſiſting on the danger of his going ſo ill attended, ſo many ſtragling ſouldiers lying up and down the Country, he agreed to have them all along with him, and ſo took his farewell of Colonel *Carelos*, who very diſconſolately parted from him.

The King being mounted, the ſix Brethren guarding him behind, and before, and on each ſide, *Humphrey* leading the horſe,

horſe, they began their journey: The way was ſomething dirty, and every where the horſe blundering, cauſed the King to ſuſpect falling, and to bid *Humphrey* have a care; to which he returned, that his horſe had carried many a heavy weight before, but never the price of three Kingdomes; and therefore he might be excuſed by reaſon of his extraordinary burden.

When they came within a mile of the houſe, they made faſt the horſe, and came the foot-way through the fields thither: before the King went into the houſe, he took his leave of all of them but *Iohn*, they upon their knees crying and praying for his ſafety and preſervation. As they were departing, the King called them back, and ſaid, I am ſo full of care, that I do forget what I do; but here is my hand (giving it them to kiſs) if God bleſs me, I will remember all another day. A promiſe his Majeſty hath moſt graciouſly perfopmed.

When he came into the houſe, with none but *Iohn*, he was moſt ſubmiſly and cordially welcomed by Mr. *Whitgreave*, who preſently conducted him to my Lord *Wilmot*, in the ſecret place, who with infinite gladneſs fell down and imbraced his knees. The firſt thing they did, was to ſhift his Majeſty, by taking off that courſe ſhirt, and putting on a finer, and changing his ſtockings and ſhoes: Next they conſulted about his Majeſties manner of eſcape out of *England*; whereupon Col. *Lane* was propounded as a very fit and neceſſary inſtrument in that buſineſs, and agreed on, and accordingly tranſacted, as before deſigned by my Lord *Wilmot*, which was, that the never-to-be-forgotten Lady *Iane Lane*, under ſome pretence of viſiting her Siſter, and other affairs in *Briſtoll*, ſhould get a Paſs for her Man and her ſelf, and that the King ſhould be the Man, and ride before her.

This was concluded on and done, Mrs. *Lane* ſending ſome Spring-water, in which Wallnuts had been boiled to diſcolour his hands and face, and other parts open to view; and on Thurſday night, the eleventh of *September*, Colonel *Lane* came with her, all things fit for his Majeſties journey being provided, to a field adjoyning to Mr. *Whitgreaves* houſe, where the King was mounted before her, and from thence they immediately ſet forward, having directions given to know the Country, and recommendations alſo to the Allies, friends and acquaintance of her Family, if any ſiniſter rancounter ſhould put them to tryal.

At one Town in their journey they met with a Troop of horſe, but the Captain perceiving they rid double, commanded

ed the Troop to open to the right and left, and ſo paſt them.

Being come to *Briſtoll*, they endeavoured to get a paſſage thereabouts for *France*, his Majeſty being Nobly and ſecretly entertained at the houſe of Mr. *Norton* (at *Leigh* hard by *Briſtoll*) ſince Knighted for his loyalty; but it not ſucceeding there, and my Lord *Wilmot* being come to *Briſtoll*, it was agreed to go for *Salisbury*, where the King had entertainment by the Relations of Sir *Edward Nicholas*, his Majeſties Secretary. Here Colonel *Gunter* fortunately came to know the King, by whoſe conveyance the King was brought ſafe into *Suſſex*, to the habitation of this Noble Gentleman, and a Bark by his means procured for fifty pound, to tranſport two Gentlemen, upon account of a quarrel and Duel lately fought, into *France*: The Maſter not knowing otherwiſe, while at Sea, who ſafely and dutifully landed them at *Deep* in *Normandy*; from whence the King went immediately to *Paris*, where he was welcomed by that Court, but moſt joyfully received by our Queen his Mother, and the Duke, and that moſt affectionate Uncle of his Majeſties, the late deceaſed Duke of *Orleans*, of famous memory.

De Bello ducit Pax læta Triumphos.

After

Anno Domini, 1652.

After this defeat, *Scotland* is with little difficulty (General *Monk* ſeizing moſt of the Scotch Presbyterian Nobility at *Ellan*, where they were in Councel) reduced to the obedience of the Parliament; Garriſons were placed every where, and four Citradels moſt impregnably fortified at *Leith*, *S. Johnſtons*, *Ayre*, and *Innerneſs*; ſo that the total Conqueſt of that Nation was by the Engliſh then accompliſhed, and ſo far forth ſecured for ever.

This Triumph ſwelled the new State to other great enterprizes; the Dutch had ſtood upon ſome punctilio of honour with them, as being the junior ſtate; and for their relation to the Prince of *Auranze*, their General, were ſuſpected (though many variations in that compaſs) of adherance to the King his Brother-in-law, the ſaid Prince being lately dead. For theſe reaſons, the Parliament publiſhed an Act (by them made) for the incouragement of Navigation, the moſt advantagious and pleaſing to the Engliſh Marriners, and as hurtful and diſpleaſant to the Hollander, forbidding any goods to be exported from any place, but what were of the growth and manufacture thereof in any other veſſels but their own, and Engliſh, which totally excluded the Hollander, ſaving ſome petty Merchandiſes of Linen, Maderas, *&c.*

The States of *Holland* hereupon arm, and ſet forth a Fleet of ſhips under Admiral *Van-Trump*, who meeting with our Fleet at the *Downs*, in the beginning of *May*, under *Bourn*, who was ſoon relieved by General *Blake*, the Flag being refuſed by the Dutch; the fight began, and continued about four houres till night, the ſucceſs lighting on the Engliſh.

This attempt made by the Dutch, highly exaſperated the then State, who were uſed to the exceſſes and uncontrouliments of Fortune, ſo that the Ambaſſadors here could not allay their fury, but departed home.

Sir *George Ayſcue*, one of the Parliaments Captains over a Squadron of ſhips, being about *Plymouth*, met with a Sail of fifty Dutch Men of War, and by night, after ſome conflict, parted equally from them.

General *Blake* roving about the *Downs*, met with the French Fleet, then bound for the relief of *Dunkirk*, beſieged by the Spaniard, which he took altogether, and thereupon that Town

was rendred to the Arch-Duke *Leopold*.

Sept. 28. On the 28 of *September*, the Engliſh met the Dutch Fleet at a place called the *Kentiſh-Knock*, where ſome of the greateſt Engliſh ſhips ſtruck on the Sands, but getting off again, they ſo fiercely plyed the Dutch, that they were forced to fly, ſaving themſelves from a greater loſs then the diſabling of ſome ſix ſhips, whereof the Rear-Admiral was one. This was recompenſed by the Dutch, who took a Man of War in the *Straits*, by *Porto-Longone*.

Decemb. 20. On the twentieth of *December*, *Van-Trump* with a new rigged Fleet came again to the *Downs* with 100 Men of War, and Fireſhips, where *Blake* unhappily with a ſmall number met them, and was forced to ſail for it, being much indangered himſelf: Here were loſt the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, and two other Merchants Ships, beſides the *Vanguard* and *Victory* very much ſhattered.

The Dutch crowed upon this Victory, and with a numerous Feb. 18. Fleet of Merchant-men ſailed to *Rochel*, giving out, that they would ſweep the Seas of the Engliſh; but at their return the Engliſh met them at *Portland*, and gave them ſuch a re-encounter, that after three daies fight (very terrible) the Dutch fled, nine Men of War being taken, and fifty Merchant-men, much ſlaughter on both ſides, but the moſt on the conquered: *Van-Trump* to *Calice*, and thence to the *Weelings*; the Engliſh to *Dover*, and ſo to Ports.

This a ſecond time was repaid us, by an overthrow given us in the *Straits*, where five of our Ships being not longer to be protected by the Duke of *Florence*, coming out of *Legorn*, were over-powred by a Dutch Fleet of 24 Sail, and the *Leopard*, and another *Bonaventure* taken, with other damages to the *Levant* Trade.

But ſuch was their great preparations at home, that the Parliament minded nothing elſe, waving all publick buſineſſes from the King of *France*, concerning the Ships taken at *Dunkirk*, and another meſſage from *Bourdeaux*, and for a while deferring the *Portugal* Embaſſador, who came to offer reſtitution. And yet in the height of this grand deſign, an unexpected, or at leaſt an unwardable blow quite undid them and their deſigns, leaving them, as became, the laughter and ſcorn of the Nation; while their General having turned them out, and diſſolved them, made himſelf, after a ſhort intervall of time, the Supreme Magiſtrate.

Anno

Anno Domini, 1653.

FOr on the twentieth of *April*, 1653. *Cromwell* ſuddenly and forcibly turns out the Parliament, who had for four years, and as much as from *January* to *April* this year, ſince they murthered the King, tyrannized over the three Nations. April.

After this violation of that violencing Parliament, *Cromwell* and his Officers call a new Repreſentative, and erect a new Councel of State, wherein not one man of (but only ſuch as were revolters from) the Commonwealth were admitted. By the FACE of this new erected Councel, a Convention is aſſembled of 120. who did nothing but folly and miſchief againſt Church and people, particularly by their lawleſs act of Marriages, and vote againſt Tythes, and then the cunninger part of them reaſſigned their Truſt and Power to the ſame hand that gave it, having made an Act alſo for a Tax, according to the old mode of 120000 pound *per menſem*. July 4.

By this ſhift of power, *Cromwell* was, as they and he ſaid, inveſted with the Supreme Authority, it being devolved unto him by the late reſignation; and therefore a new device of Government was now projected, which was contained in an Inſtrument conſiſting of 42 Articles; whereby he is made Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and ſolemnly inſtalled before the Lord Mayor of *London*, on the ſixteenth of the ſame moneth. This was pretended to be drawn out of *Magna Charta*; but what need we ſay of it? Decemb 12.

Some ſtrugling there were about the beginning of the new year in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; in the firſt for life, the other of death, the Scotch hoping to recover themſelves, and the Iriſh at the laſt gaſp, all places and perſons being neer reduced to the Uſurper.

During this intermiſſion of Government in *England*, yet there was no vacancy of War betwixt us and the *Hollanders*, who ſenſible of their own weakneſs, and the new Protectors troubles, in his ambitious aſpiring deſigns, ſent over Embaſſadors to treat. While they were here, the Fleets of both States being prepared, and out at Sea, happened two diſmal encounters; the firſt on the 23 of *July*, (the Dutch having before conveyed one Fleet out towards the Eaſt and Weſt, *France*, *Spain*, and the *Levant*, about by *Scotland*; and conveyed two Fleets home; one from the Baltick and Northern Sea from *Pruſſia*, and another

other that came about from *France*, *Levant*, &c.) which continued for three daies fighting and flying; in the first whereof General *Deane* was slain with a Canon bullet hard by General *Monck* (so Providence distinguished betwixt a King-Murderer and a King-Restorer) and the two next, in seizing and entring several ships in the pursuit, unt l such time as they got into the *Weylings*, having lost seventeen Men of War, whereof eleven taken and six sunk, and many prisoners taken; and which was worst, the Coast of *Holland* was so blockt up, that no ships could safely arrive in their harbours, nor no joyning of one part of the Fleet (then a rigging new, to remedy this overthrow) with another.

All preparations were therefore made by the *Hollander*, to recover not only their credit, but their livelihood and subsistance, which was to drive the English from the coast; and General *Van-Trump* having fitted himself with the choice of his Country, both for men and ships, resolved for to effect it; whereupon on the second of *July* he sailed from the *Weylings*, and soon after joyned with a Fleet from the *Texel*, at the sight of which Fleets the English weighed, and on the 23 in the afternoon, part of the English under General *Monk*, then Admiral, charged through them; the next day the whole Fleet came up, but being boistrous weather could not ingage, but on Saturday both Fleets fell to it, and made an end, the Dutch being worsted, and miserably shattered, thirty six ships taken, burnt, and sunk, the rest escaping into the *Texel*, from whence were lately some of them equipped.

This was the parting blow of that War, the Dutch Ambassadors concluding a peace presently, which was transacted by *Oliver*, and concluded by him, for the facilitating his vaster designs at home, this adding reputation to his future undertakings; and so the quarrel for the Dominion of the Seas ended.

This War so ended, with such honourable success and advantage, *Cromwell* having, as before is said, the power resigned into his hands, took upon him to act as chief Magistrate, urg'd thereto by the Army and the well-affected people, and installed himself, as before, at *Westminster* the sixteenth day of *December* Lord Protector of the three Nations.

Being also now proclaimed by his Councel, with the stile aforesaid, endeavours were used every where to countenance it with Addresses, but the main one, was the invitation of the City for him to dine at *Grocers Hall*, which they sumptuously performed

performed, and he ambitiously enough received, Knighting the Mayor for the Cities kindnes.

But kindnes would yield no money, therefore cruelty must; a plot against the Protectors life by one Colonel *John Gerrard*, Mr. *Fox* Mr. *Vowel*, and others, who not being chargeable by the Laws for any such attempts, were brought before a High Court of Justice, and Colonel *Gerrard* and Mr. *Vowel* condemned, and severally executed; with *Gerrard* was executed *Don Pontaleon*, the *Portugal* Ambassadors Brother, whoyhad made a Riot in the *New-Exchange*, and slain a Gentleman, to whose rescue this Noble *Gerrard* very bravely ventured, and yet their fate was one.

General *Middleton* lands in *Scotland*, with some supplyes from the King; whereupon *Glencarn* and *Seaforth* joyn with him, and put a new face upon the Kings business there; but in conclusion all came to nothing, the Earl of *Middleton* being defeated at *Longberry*, who had marched through all the Highlands after him, and there overtook and worsted him, *Middleton* himself escaping, and the Earl of *Glencarn*, and the Lords of the Royal Party, coming in upon conditions, till all was quieted in that Kingdome.

Anno Domini, 1654.

King *Charles* the Second about this time departed the Kingdome of *France*, upon intimation of a Treaty then on foot betwixt that Crown and the Protector, whom soon followed his Brother the Duke of *York*; and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, being tempted to turn Papist, was fought out of the Jesuites Colledg by the Marques of *Ormond*, according to the command of the King his Brother.

Now according to the Instrument of Government, *Cromwel* called his first Triennial Parliament, which had sit but just five lunary moneths, spent in debating the aforesaid Instrument and *Cromwells* Authority, when *Cromwell* came, sent for the House to the Painted Chamber, and dissolved it with a very tedious and deceitful speech.

Now another plot, after this dissolution of the Parliament, which ended with much publick discontent, and therefore was thought a very fit juncture for such a business, was found out, and discovered from abroad by one *Manning*, one of the Secretaries to the King then at *Colen*: The first eruption of this ge-

neral design was at *Salisbury*, on the sixteenth of *March*, of some three hundred men, under the command of Sir *Joseph Wagstaff*, in chief, and Colonel *Penruddock*, and *Groves*, consisting altogether of men of quality and condition: These proceeded Westward, where at *Blandford* they proclaimed the King, but *Oliver* knowing the plot before hand, had sent some horse that way, who forthwith pursued them, they bending towards *Devonshire*, where at *Southmolton* they were surprized in their quarters, *Wagstaff* escaped, but *Penruddock* and *Groves*, though after quarter promised by Colonel *Unton Crook*, who took them, with some twenty more, were beheaded and executed at several places.

Another party at the same time surprized the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and endeavoured to take the Castle, but were discovered, and so failed of their enterprise: The like rising also in *Montgomeryshire*, in *Sherwood* Forrest in *Nottinghamshire*, and in *Yorkshire* and *Northumberland*, so that though it was laid generally through the Nation, yet by the treachery of that *Manning*, the design was frustrated, which soon brought after it a trick called *Decimation* of the Cavaliers Estates for their old and this new (so termed) Delinquency.

Decemb. The Protector had seated himself, as he thought, pretty fast in his new Usurpation, he had concluded a League with the Dutch, and *Whitlock* had made another for him with the Swede, and now the French had also entred into the like Confederation, prevening the Spaniard, the first design whereof proved to be an attempt upon the King of *Spains West-Indies*, advised by Cardinal *Mazarine*, and vigorously put in execution by the Protector; for on the nineteenth of *December*, a well-appointed Fleet set sail from *Portsmouth* to the *Barbadoes*, where, and not before, the Generals had order to open their Commissions, (*Venables* for the Land, and *Pen* for the Sea forces) no body certainly knowing their design, an occasion of much mischief afterwards to the expedition, neither Commanders nor Souldiers being sufficiently provided for so long a service with necessaries.

On the 29th of *January*, the whole Fleet, except the *Charity*, where the horses and other provisions were put aboard, arrived at Anchor in *Carliste Bay* at the *Barbadoes*, and landed their men, where having made up the three thousand they brought with them from *England*, to the number of eight thou-

March sand, with Planters from the adjacent Isles, the 31 of *March* they

they set sail from the *Barbadoes*, and six daies after, at *S. Christophers*, took in thirteen hundred men more (Voluntiers) and from thence on the thirteenth of *April* arrived at *S. Domingo*. Here a Councel of War was called, and it was determined, that Gen*Venables* should land with seven thousand men, and three daies provision, ten or twelve leagues Westward to the Town, the Army being very joyful, and expecting nothing less then heaps of gold; accordingly they landed, but then a Proclamation was made, that no man should touch or plunder to his own use any plate, money, &c. which so deaded their hearts, that what with that, and the incommodiousness and thirst they suffered in that hot passage, being forced to drink their own Urine, they were so disheartned and dismayed, that at the very first encounter of the Enemy their courage failed them, and an inconsiderable Enemy made great execution on them.

Anno Domini, 1655.

This first successless combat struck a panick fear through the whole Army, so that they began to grow afraid of the rustling of the leafs of those thick woods they wandred in; but at last up they came to a Fort neer *S. Domingo*, where having made ready their Mortar Guns to play upon it, orders were given for the dismounting and hiding of them, and the next day with all hast the Army reimbarqued again, having neither provision, nor any thing else fit for their long return to Windward for *Barbadoes*; and therefore it was resolved, that they should steer directly before the wind to *Iamaica*, where they arrived on the eighteenth of *May*, and meeting no opposition landed, and possest themselves of the chiefest Town; whereupon ensued a Treaty betwixt the Spanish Governour and the General, which spun out time, till the Inhabitants had conveyed away their best goods and cattel; and soon after this worthy adventure, the two Generals returned into *England*, and for shew-sake were clapt up in the Tower by the Protector, and presently again released. But great was the mortality of this expedition, scarce one in four surviving; and the same misery befell them that were afterwards sent thither, being two thousand stout old Souldiers, under the several commands of Colonel *Humphreys*, and Lievtenant Colonel *Brayn*, who was sent last to command in chief in that new-gained Island. May

But what honour was lost here, was something compensated

by the valour of General *Blake*, who at the same time that this Fleet went for the *West-Indies*, was sent with another into the *Straits* to repress the violence of the Pyrates of *Algiers*, who had so infested those Seas, that commerce was not free for any Nation: Therefore having anchored before *Algiers*, he demanded restitution, and had a civil answer from thence to his satisfaction; thence he arrived at *Tunis*, demanding as before; to which the Dye or Vice-King returned answer, that there were the Castles and Ships of the Grand Seignior, that he might do his worst, they were not to be scared with his Fleet: whereupon a Councel of War being called, it was resolved, to attaque the Castles and Port of *Ferino*, wherein lay nine Frigats of War, and to burn them, which accordingly, and in despight of all their Ordnance and Castles they effected, with a very small loss: The news hereof was carried to the Grand Seignior, to the glory of the English Nation.

About this time a massacre was committed in *Piedmont* on the Protestants there (many say not for Religion, but Rebellion) and vast sums of money were raised by a Declaration of the Protectors, resenting their miserable estate, most part of which came into his own purse at the Conclusion; yet while he was taking money in one hand for the Christians accompt, he had another open for the Jewish, who about this time had offered large sums for their readmission into this Kingdome; this could not be done without an odium, and yet the Protector kept what he had in hand as earnest from them.

The next design was a Turkish one, having erected the office and power of Major Generals, equal to Bashaws, for the several Counties, but they being upstarts, and something eclipsing his own entire greatness, he soon after laid them aside, (but never torally abrogated them) having made use of them to levy his new extortion of Decimation.

A War now was declared betwixt the Spaniard and the Protector, who sent the two Generals, *Blake*, (and *Montague* new made one) to block up the Port at *Cadiz*, and to way-lay the Plate-Fleet in its return from the *Indies*. (nothing was omitted to get money, which the people of *England* would not part with to him) while the French peace was then proclaimed, which had been agreed on, as before. Before *Cadiz*, the English lay, hoping to draw the Spaniards out, but he would not stir, imagining the English must remove for fresh water homeward, but that was found neerer there, at *Wyers Bay* in *Portugal*

gal, whether the Generals being gone for the aforeſaid purpoſe, leaving Rear-Admiral *Stayner* to have an eye upon the Coaſt, and port of *Cadiz*, he cruſing up and down, eſpied a Fleet making thitherwards, whereupon being to Leeward, he made all the poſſible ſpeed he could to get up to them, they ſuppoſing his Squadron to be but Fiſhermen, and having received falſe intelligence the day before, that the Engliſh were departed; and preſently ingaged: The Spaniards were eight tall Galeons, he but three that fought; *viz.* the *Speaker*, the *Bridgewater*, and the *Plymouth*; the fight was ſoon over; of the Spaniſh two were taken, two burnt, one ſunk, two ran aſhore, and one eſcaped: In one of thoſe that was taken great riches were found, both in Plate and in Cocheneal, but in the other little ſave hides: For this Victory a Thankſgiving day was ordered, and much rejoycing at *Whitehall*.

Anno Domini, 1656.

Nevertheleſs this money would not ſerve turn, and therefore the Protector reſolved to put it to tryal what he could do by a Parliament, hoping this ſucceſs, and his reputation abroad, might have begot a dread and reverence upon the people, ſo that he ſummons a Parliament by his own Writ, to be held at *Weſtminſter* the 17th of *September*; where finding the Elections not anſwering his intendments, many of the late Aſſembly being returned again for this, he impoſeth a recognition of his Authority to be taken by every Member, before he ſhould ſit in the Houſe; and thereupon excludes far the major part. Others alſo, offended at this manner of proceeding, voluntarily abſented themſelves, and retired into their reſpective Counties; ſo that having packt this Convention according to his mind, the remnant choſe Sir *Thomas Widdrington* Speaker, and fell to work, enacting ſeveral things for the Protector firſt, for ſecurity of his perſon and dignity, which had lately been attempted by one *Syndercomb* (and for which he was convicted and condemned at the Kings Bench Bar, then called the Upper bench, and was ſuppoſed to prevent his execution, to have poyſoned himſelf the night before in the Tower, from whence he was drawn naked at a horſe tail, and burned under the Scaffold at Tower-hill, and a ſtake drove through him) and the next, the life of the Cauſe, for raiſing of money to maintain the War againſt *Spain*, and for continuing Tonnage and Poundage; another was, an

Act

Act for preventing buildings in and about *London*, a whole years Revenue to be paid for all ſuch houſes as had been built upon new foundations ſince the year 1620. and an Act confirming and continuing the Exciſe: But the chiefeſt of all was, a device called, *The humble Petition and Advice*, wherein *Cromwell* was entreated to be King, but his ambition durſt not venture upon it, as things yet ſtood, ſo he was contented to be inſtalled again Lord Protector, by the Authority of Parliament, which was wanting before, and that ſolemnly and very ſtately was ſoon after celebrated, and the Parliament adjourned.

Inne.

Anno Domini, 1657.

Leave we the Protector awhile, and return to General *Blake* on the Coaſt of *Spain*, where finding nothing to do, being informed that the Plate-Fleet was arrived in the Canary Iſlands, and unladen, he reſolved to ſail thither, and fire the Galeons in the Harbour of *Sancta Cruz*, which with much bravery, though with as much danger and hazard, on the 20th of *April*, was attempted firſt by Sir *Richard Stayner*, and ſeconded by the whole Fleet, ſo that in four hours ſpace they fired ſixteen ſhips, and ſlew many hundred Spaniards on board and on ſhore, loſing only, ſome 50 ſlain, and 120 wounded. For this exploit the General had a Diamond, nigh worth five hundred pound ſent him, and Captain *Stayner* was Knighted by *Oliver*, but ſince the King, out of reſpect to his merit, hath confirmed him a Knight.

On the 19th of *April* a conſpiracy was found out of the Fifth Monarchiſts; at a houſe in *Shoreditch*, ſeveral Arms and Colours were taken; as likewiſe Major General *Harriſon*, Colonel *Rich*, Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, *Venner*, and others of that party were ſecured; it came to nothing then, but burſt out dangerouſly ſince.

This Summer the Protector, according to compact and agreement with the French, had ſent over ſome forces to joyn with the French King againſt the Spaniard in *Flanders*: Theſe, under the Command of Commiſſary General *Reynolds*, landed in *Picardy*, and about the end of *October*, the French and he came and ſit down before *Mardike*, a Fort neer *Dunkirk*, and of concernment to the taking of *Dunkirk* it ſelf: This place, after a ſhort ſiege, was rendred, and by the French put into the Engliſh hands, and ſo the French betook themſelves to their winter-

winter-quarters, while the Spaniard, under the leading of the Duke of *York*, attempted by ſtorm in the night time to regain it from the Engliſh, but were valiantly repulſed.

General *Blake* returning home from his Triumphs over the Spaniard, died on Shipboard, in ſight of Engliſh Land; and General *Reynolds* returning out of *Flanders* to *England*, was caſt away in the *Goodwin* Sands, and with him Colonel *White*, and others.

By one of the clauſes of the humble Petition and Advice, it was declared, that the Parliament ſhould conſiſt of two Houſes; therefore *Cromwell*, during the adjournment, fill'd up the number of that Other Houſe, that was its name, conſiſting of ſixty two perſons, moſt of them Officers of the Army, and his neer Relations, moſt of them of mean extraction: Theſe nevertheleſs, at the expiring of the prorogation appeared, and took their places in the Houſe of Lords, according as the antient cuſtome was, whether the Protector came and ſent for the Houſe of Commons, where he made a canting ſpeech to them, but the Commons returning to their Houſe, having admitted all their Members, would neither own the new Lords, nor him that made them ſo, but fell into high diſputes about the Government; ſo that *Cromwell* ſeeing how the game was likely to go, came, and in a great fury within ten daies after their reſitting, diſſolved them.

Anno Domini, 1658.

After the diſſolution of this Parliament, as of courſe, and according to cuſtome another plot was diſcovered, and this was clearly of *Cromwells* own making; the City was to be fired, and a general inſurrection and maſſacre of the well-affected: In this ſnare were taken Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Doctor *Hewet*, and Maſter, now Sir *Thomas Woodcock*, *John* now Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, and others of meaner rank, as Colonel *Aſhton*, *Thomas Bettley*, *Edmond Stacy*, and others; Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Doctor *Hewet*, were beheaded at Tower-hill, and the three laſt hang'd and quartered in the ſtreets of *London*. Vide Speech.

Dunkirk, after a gallant defence, and a field battel, in attempting the relief, where the Engliſh had the honour, and the French and Engliſh the victory of the day, was on the 25th of *June* delivered to the United Forces, and by the French King put into the Engliſh hands; *Lockhart*, formerly Ambaſſador in *France*, *June*.

France, and then General of the English, being made Governour thereof.

Now it pleased God suddenly after this tyranny and cruelty, committed on those innocent persons above-named, to call this Protector to an account, who lingring some time with an ague and a pain in his intestines, on the third day of *September*, his great fortunate day, breathed out h s last, his death being ushered by a most terrible wind, and the coming of a Whale up the River of *Thames*, of twenty yards long. Thus ended that wretched Politique.

After *Oliver* Protector war dead, his Son *Richard*, according to an Article in the Instiuunent o. Government, by which he was to declare his Successor, was by his Fathers Councel proclaimed Lord Protector of these three Nations, with the usual solemnities, and accordingly owned by several addresses from most parts of the Kingdome, but drawn and subscribed by some particular persons of the times, who obtruded them upon the rest. He was courted also by the French, Swedish, Dutch Ambassadors, who all condoled him for his Fathers death.

After a little respit of time, *Richard* was advised to call a Parliament, the Courtiers thinking, that what with the Army and the Lawyers, they should make their party good for the Protector in the House of Commons, being sure of their other House of Peers, and in the mean time took care for his Fathers Funerals; which were solemnized in most ample manner, above the expences usual to any of our Kings deceased, *November* 23. 1658.

The Parliament being convened on the 27th of *Ianuary*, the Protector and his new Lords gave them a meeting in the Lords House, where he made a speech to them, which was seconded by the Keeper *Fiennes*, and so departed to *Whitehall*, the Lords keeping their seats, and the major part of the House of Commons, not vouchsafing audience, betook themselves to their own house, and elected *Challoner Chute* for their Speaker.

The Parliament being in some measure, fuller then it used, by reason of Knights and Burgesses from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, began with the old Trade of questioning the power. In conclusion, the debate came to this result, that they would recognize the Lord Protector, but so that nothing should be binding, till all other Acts to be prepared by the Parliament should likewise pass and be confirmed: For the other House also, that no stop might be put to the great design of setling the Kingdome,

dome, which was then aimed at, and that queſtion of owning them being but a baulk to their proceeding, they reſolved to tranſact with them for this Parliament as a Houſe of Peers, not excluding the right of other the Peers of *England*.

The Protector, at the inſtance of the King of *Sweden*, had rigg'd forth a Fleet for the *Sound*, which being ready to ſet ſail, the Parliament ordered that for this time the Protector ſhould have the mannagement of the Militia in this expedition, reſerving to themſelves the Supreme right thereto; that Fleet, after ſix moneths time, returned back again, *re infecta*.

Now the debates flew high in the Houſe of Commons, tending to the leſſening the power of the Sword, which was grown ſo exorbitant; therefore the Army being ſenſible whereto ſuch conſultations would finally tend, reſolved to break up the Parliament; and accordingly, having ſecured the Protector, made him ſign a Commiſſion to *Fiennes* to diſſolve it, which accordingly was done, though the Houſe of Commons, to prevent it, adjourned themſelves for three daies; but then out came a Proclamation, forced likewiſe from the Protector, whereby he declared that Parliament to be abſolutely diſſolved.

Now the Army, and ſome of the tail of the Parliament which were turned out by *Oliver* in 1653. joyn their heads together, and ſo make way for their free Commonwealth again. *Richard* Protector is laid aſide, the Officers of the Army playing ſome eight daies with the Government, and then reſigning it to thoſe men, who very readily imbraced the motion, and met *May* 7. in the Houſe the Old Speaker, and ſome forty more making up a *Quorum*, and forthwith publiſhed a Declaration, how that by the wonderful Providence and goodneſs of God they were reſtored, which to moſt ſeemed the ſaddeſt judgement could befall the Nation.

Preſently they fall to their old trade of ſqueezing money, and providing ſure for themſelves againſt any more attempts of the Army, leiſurely purging out thoſe that had been active with *Oliver* againſt them, but by all means refuſe to admit thoſe Members that by the like force were formerly ſecluded in 1648. They depoſe the Protector, and make him ſign a Reſignation, yet promiſing him the yearly allowance of 10000 l. *per annum*, and the payment of his debts, ſo that they thought themſelves now cock-ſure, levying money by taxes before hand, to gratifie the Army, for the peoples love they never expected, and then ſettle the Militia in confiding hands.

Anno

Anno Domini, 1659.

But this then excluſion of their Members, and taxes, and the fear of other preſſures, the Nation having had too late and long experience of their Government, ſo ſtomacked the people, that deſigns were every where laid to turn them out of their new acquired Authority: But the moſt powerfulleſt attempt againſt them was in *Cheſhire*, under Sir *George Booth*, with whom there roſe to the number of 4000 or 5000 men, and moſt of the Gentlemen of that County. Againſt theſe, Major General *Lambert*, then highly in favour with the Rump, ſo it was commonly call'ed, was ſent with an Army, which with additions out of *Ireland*, very neer equalled that number: At a place called *Northwich*, a ſmall skirmiſh happened between them, ſome fourteen killed and wounded; whereupon thoſe under Sir *George Booth* fled, and *Cheſter* was delivered; with ſome other holds newly poſſeſt by the Cheſhire men to *Lambert*, and *Zanchy*, whom he left behind him to reduce them, while he himſelf paſſed through *Lancaſhire* to his houſe at *Craven*, where with his Officers plotted the diſſolution of the Rump, which accordingly upon his coming up to *London*, was put in execution, *October* the 11th; and now the Army had the ſole power in their hands again.

Sir Geo. Booth defeated Aug. 20.

Lambert hereupon, for we muſt ſuppoſe he is the Agent for his own ambition, though alſo agreed upon by *Fleetwood*, and the reſt of the Officers, erect a Committee of Safety of ſome thirty of the moſt eminent amongſt them, into whoſe hands they devolve the Supreme Authority.

But the Members of the Rump reſolve not to be baffled ſo, Sir *Arthur Hazelrig* in *December* poſſeſt himſelf of *Portſmouth*, and General *Monk* in *Scotland* declares his unſatisfiedneſs in theſe proceedings of the Army at *London*, ſo that while *Lambert* was ingaged in the North, and attending the iſſue of a Treaty with General *Monk* there, the Members return from *Portſmouth* to *London*, through the diviſion they had wrought in the Army, the way they chalked out to their own ruine.

The Lord *Fairfax* was alſo riſen with a ſufficient force, reſtraining *Lamberts* men from free quarter; ſo that lacking money, and news arrived of the Parliaments ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, he comes back to *London*, whither immediately followed him General *Monk*, having been courted all along his march by the Gentlemen

Gentlemen of all the Counties of *England* for a free Parliament.

At his coming to the Parliament, he declared the ſenſe of the Countryes through which he paſſed, but nothing leſs was minded by them then a new or free Parliament; but this, and other his actions, rendred him very ſuſpitious to them, nor was any man aſſured of his intentions. To try him therefore, the Rump having been denied moneys by the City, and therefore offended with them; to ruine both, by their expreſs Command, the General was ſent with his Army into the City, pulled down their Gates and Portcullifes, ſeized ſeveral Citizens at the *Guildhall*, and ſent them to the Tower; this ſeemed to portend ſome dreadful concluſion: But in the interim, the Rump voted, that the Government of the Army ſhould reſt in five perſons, making the General one of thoſe; which procedure of theirs, preſently drew the Curtain to the Scene and deſign enſuing.

Anno Dom. 1660.

For now the General having rendezvouz'd his Army in *Finſbury* fields, acquainted his Officers with the neceſſity of introducing the ſecluded Members ever ſince 1648. into the Parliament, in order to the well-ſettlement of the Nations, to which they aſſented, and forthwith the whole Army marched into *London*, where upon the joyful news of this miraculous turn, (expecting nothing but maſſacres and plunderings) they were moſt welcomely entertained, nothing being thought too good for theſe Gueſts, whom they little before more then ſuſpected for their Enemies.

This was Saturday the of *February* in the afternoon, ſo that at night the Town was all of a blaze, every door having a bonfire, where all the contumely and diſgrace that could be done a perdite and hated ſort of men, by burning, roaſting, and frying of all manner of Rumps of Creatures, was moſt ſpitefully performed, their Speaker getting home with much danger to his houſe in *Chancery-lane*.

A fortnights time the General let them alone, minding them only of their diſſolution, which time they ſpent in making qualifications for the Members to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament, which were ſo many, and ſo ſtrict and unreaſonable, that the General delayed no longer, but on Munday, having convened the aforeſaid ſecluded Members at *Whitehall*, went with them

to

to the Parliament Houſe, and there put them in, to the confuſion and aſtoniſhment of the Rumpers, many of whom forbore to ſit thereafter in company with them, as knowing what would enſue.

The ſaid Members being thus ſetled, addreſt themſelves immediately to the ſettlement, *&c.* making the General Captain General of all the Forces in the three Kingdomes, and nulling ſome former deſtructive Votes, and eſtabliſhing a Militia of well-affected and loyal perſons in the ſeveral Countie of *England*, and then according to the contract and compromiſe with the General, on the day of *March*, diſſolved that long and fatal Parliament, having ordered Writs to iſſue out for a new one to ſit down at *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *April* next the year 1661.

In this interval, the Government was lodged in a Councel of State, who perſiſted in the ſame wayes for a ſettlement, leaving the Top-ſtone to be laid by the Free Parliament, a term unuſual to our Anceſtors, but to this Generation a delightful novelty, after ſo many forces and violences upon ſo many in ſo few years. Colonel *Lambert*, at the inſtance of the General, had by the Rump been ſent to the Tower, from whence now he broke and eſcaped, and came to *Edge-hill*, where was intended a great Rendezvouz of the Phanatick part of the Army then male-contented with the proceedings; but his deſign failed of the expected aſſiſtance, Colonel *Ingoldsby* being ſent in purſuit of him, and diſperſing his ſmall party at the ſame place, from whence he was brought to *London*, and committed a ſafer priſoner to the *Tower* aforeſaid.

On the 25th of *April* the Parliament convened in both Houſes, to whom a week after their ſitting came a Letter from the Kings Majeſty, with another to the General, and one to the City of *London*, brought by *John* Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, and Sir *John Greenvile*, now Earl of *Bath*, which were all with due humility and gladneſs received, and a Vote paſſed in Parliament, that their moſt humble thanks ſhould be preſented, by Commiſſioners appointed to attend his Majeſty then at the *Hague* for his gracious Letters, and he ſhould be deſired to return with all convenient ſpeed to the exerciſe of his Kingly Government; and Sir *Thomas Clarges* was firſt diſpatcht by the General on the ſame Errand, where at Court he was very much welcomed.

Tueſday the eighth of *May*, the King was proclaimed with all

all the magnificences uſual, but with the unuſual and extraordinary joy of the people, who made great bonfires that night, and ſeemed as it were to be in a kind of extaſie: On the 25th the King landed from *Holland*, being attended by a gallant Fleet, commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich* at *Dover*, where the Genral met him (the Sea, and Heaven, and Earth, rung with the peals of Ordinance) and ſo to *Canterbury*, to *Rocheſter*, and on the 29 day, being *Tueſday*, his moſt auſpicious Birthday, triumphantly and peaceably entred his Royal City of *London*, where the acclamations and ſhoutings were ſo loud and hearty, that it is impoſſible to eccho or expreſs them, to the great pleaſure, and yet diſturbance of the King, who about ſix in the evening came to his Palace at *Whitehal*, where in the Banquetting Houſe both Houſes attended him. All the way the way through the City, the General rode bareheaded next before his Majeſtie, his two Brothers, *York* and *Glouceſter* riding of each ſide covered. After a ſhort congratulation, the King being weary, went to his Bed-chamber, where he ſupped, and ſo to his reſt, having come 27 miles that day, beſides his going through *London*; and within two days after, his Royal Brethren having taken their places in the Houſe of Lords, came to the Parliament, where he made a Speech, earneſtly preſſing the Act of Free pardon and indempnity, which he had promiſed in his Declaration from *Breda*.

The next thing he did, was the emitting a Proclamation, requiring all thoſe who had a hand in the execrable murther of his Father, to render themſelves within ſuch a time, which ſome obeyed, the reſt fled; thoſe that came in, were (by the Act of Pardon, which came out ſoon after with ſome other) reſpited, till another Parliament ſhould determine of them either to life or death: This was in favour for their rendring themſelves.

On the day of Auguſt, dyed the moſt noble and accompliſht Prince *Henry* Duke of *Glouceſter* of the Small Pox, at *Whitehal*, to the very great ſorrow of the whole Kingdom, being a Prince of ſingular vertues and endowments.

In *October*, 1661. they, with the reſt that were apprehended for the ſaid crime, were ſeverally arraigned at the Seſſions Houſe in the *Old-Bailey*, before Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*; where after Tryal, they were all found guilty, and convicted of High-Treaſon, for compaſſing, contriving and bringing about the death of the King; for which 26 of them had ſentence to

be drawn, hanged, and quartered; ſixteen of them, who rendred themſelves according to the aforeſaid Proclamation, were reſpited till the Parliament ſhould by an Act determine of them; but the other ten; *viz.* Major General *Harriſon*, *John Carew*, *John Cook*, the Sollicitor to the pretended Court of Juſtice, *Hugh Peters*, *Thomas Scot*, *Gregory Clement*, *John Iones*, *Adrian Scroop*, *Francis Hacker*, and *Daniel Axtel*, were executed according to the ſentence, eight of them at *Charing Croſs*, and the two laſt at *Tyburn*; their Heads ſet upon *Weſtminſter*-Hall and *London*-Bridge, and their quarters upon the Gates of *London*.

In *December* the King diſſolved the Parliament, which he honored with the Epithete of, *The Healing Parliament*; and on the 24 of *December* dyed alſo that moſt illuſtrious Princeſs of *Aurvnge*, His Majeſties Siſter, of the ſame diſeaſe which ſnatch away her Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, to the extreme grief of the King, the Queen Mother, and the whole Court.

The Queen Mother had come over ſome while before, with her Daughter the Lady *Henrietta*, and now prepared for her departure, fearing the diſeaſe might run in the blood, the young Princeſs being not very well, and accordingly the King in company with them, to bring them to the waters ſide, came to *Portſmouth* in the *Chriſtmaſs* time, and thence the Ladies took ſhipping for *France*.

While the King was but this ſhort while abſent, hapned that deſperate Rebellion and Inſurrection in the City of *London*, by the Fifth Monarchiſts, at two ſundry times, on the ninth of *Ianuary* at night, being *Sunday*; where they alarmed the City, marched through the gates, threatning to take down their Maſters, thoſe Regicides quarters, killing ſome four men, and ſo ſculked till *Wedneſday* morning next; at which time they appeared again, and reſolutely fought with the Trained Bands, and a Squadron of the Life-guard of Horſe, in *Wood-ſtreet*, maintaining their ground till they were ſurrounded, and then they began to retreat, but ſtill in order: There were killed of them ſome eighteen, and they killed as many. *Venner* a Wine Cooper, who was their Leader, was taken, and twenty more, twelve of which were executed with him at ſeveral places in *London*, being convicted of High-Treaſon for levying war againſt the King.

On *Ianuary* 30. 1660. the bodies of *Oliver Cromwel*, *John Bradſhaw*, and *Henry Ireton*, were removed from their Interments, in

in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, and hanged at *Tyburn*, and there buried, their heads ſet upon *Weſtminſter*-Hall.

In *Michaelmas* Term this year, there was a call of fourteen Sergeants at Law, and the Courts at *Weſtminſter* were filled with Judges; the names of which moſt Grave and Honorable Perſons are as followeth, Sir *Robert Foſter*, Lord chief Juſtice of *England*, Sir *Thomas Mallet*, Sir *Thomas Twiſden*, Sir *Wadham Windham* of the Kings Bench, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Lord chief Juſtice, Sir *Robert Hyde*, Sir *Samuel Brown*, Sir *Thomas Tyrryl*, in the Common Pleas, Sir *Matthew Hale*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, Sir *Chriſtopher Turner*, Barons of the Exchequer.

Anno Dom. 1661.

HIs Majeſtie at His diſſolution of the Parliament, having promiſed to call another with all convenient expedition, iſſued out Writs for the election thereof, and appointed the eighth of *May* for their ſitting down at *Weſtminſter*; where they accordingly convened, and ratified ſeveral Acts made by the preceding Parliament, which being not ſummoned by the Kings Writ, was not by Law held ſufficient; the Act of Oblivion was firſt confirmed, being very much urged and preſſed by the King, as the foundation of a ſure and laſting ſettlement.

At the opening of the Parliament, the King acquainted them with His reſolutions of marrying *Donna Catharina*, the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, which they very joyfully received, by a Vote paſſed to that purpoſe in both Houſes: There likewiſe paſſed an Act in repeal of that 1 *Carol.* 17. againſt the Civil Power of Biſhops, thereby debarring them from their Priviledges as Peers, which by this Repeal are to be reſtored fully unto them; with many other Acts of Publique concernment, and then adjourned till the *November* 20. inſtant.

The Right Honorable the Earl of *Sandwich*, having ſailed with a Fleet of men of War to the Coaſts of *Barbary*, to confirm the League between thoſe Pyrates and this Nation, came to an Anchor at *Algeir*, where he entred into a Treaty with the Governor of that Port, which not ſucceeding, the Fleet weighed and ſtood into the Harbour; where after the had fired ſome ſhips, and done ſome execution on ſhore, he came out again, having received ſome little loſs both of men and rigging.

From

From thence he ſet ſail towards the Coaſt of *Spain*, leaving Vice Admiral *Lawſon* to guard the ſaid Port.

By a Commiſſion from the King, the Right Honorable the Earl of *Peterburgh* was made General for the expedition to *Tanger*, a ſtrong place and Fortreſs of the *Portugals*, on the ſtreighrs of *Gibraltar*; and Forces are now ready to imbark in company with that Fleet which is going to bring home her Majeſtie the Queen from *Lisbon*.

About this time hapned a fray. or conflict on *Tower-hill*, at the Reception of the Swediſh Ambaſſador, betwixt the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors Coaches for Præcedency, where ſeven or eight were killed, and the French worſted: This ſo highly incenſed the French King, that he ſent to *Madrid* to demand ſatisfaction, but received none; ſo that upon this and ſome other janglings, there is now a kinde of a petty Hoſtility between them. During this claſh, the Prince of *Spain* dyed, and to the King of *France* was born a Daulphin, Chriſtned by the name of *Lewes Tous Saints*; becauſe he was born on *All-Saints* Day.

October. Col. *Lambert*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Hadreſs Waller*, Col. *Cobbet*, were ſent away from the *Tower*, to ſeveral remote places, for their own preſervation, as well as ſecurity of the peace; and divers others ſecured upon account of a Plot, a Narrative whereof cannot be given yet, nor in this piece, which hath attained its concluſion.

FINIS.

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